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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

Mercosur Ministers Approve Working Schedule *[Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS]* 3

CARIBBEAN

Cuba

Castro May Attend Ibero-American Summit in Jul *[Madrid EFE]* 4
Commentary Views UN Silence on U.S. Terrorism *[Havana Radio]* 4
U.S. Accused of Three Decades of Terrorism *[Havana Radio]* 6
Commentary Views U.S. Military Base Closings *[Havana Radio]* 6
Ministry Communique on Aid to Haitian Refugees *[Havana Radio]* 7
Raul Castro Continues Tour of Eastern Provinces *[Havana TV]* 8
Politburo Member on Future, Enemies of Socialism *[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 25 May]* 8

Haiti

Senate Ratifies Villa d'Accueil Agreement *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 10
Further on Ratification *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 10
Minister Issues Communique on Tripartite Action *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 10
Party Rejects Socialist Bloc's Tripartite Stand *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 11
Armed Groups Attack Soldiers in Cite Militaire *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 11
Army Condemns Murder *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 12
Soldiers Want Meeting With Provisional President *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 12
Cedras Responds to Demand *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 13
Port-au-Prince Public High Schools Demonstrate *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 13
Schoolmaster Arrested *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 13
Mondestin Denies Senator's Assassination Charge *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 13

CENTRAL AMERICA

El Salvador

Cristiani Statement on Attack on FMLN Member *[San Salvador TV]* 15
Ponce Says 'Criminals' Attacked FMLN Member *[San Salvador Radio]* 16
FMLN Announces Will Rejoin Copaz Activities *[San Salvador TV]* 17
Electoral Tribunal on FMLN Party Registration *[San Salvador TV]* 17
FMLN Political Party 'Must Respect' Law *[EL DIARIO DE HOY 23 May]* 17
Minister, Villalobos on Large Weapons Cache *[San Salvador TV]* 18

Guatemala

'Diplomatic Incident' Forced Trip Cancellation *[PRENSA LIBRE 22 May]* 18
Report on URNG Proposal To Attain Peace *[SIGLO VEINTIUNO 20 May]* 19
Commission To Study Proposal *[EL GRAFICO 21 May]* 21
URNG Denies Responsibility for Bomb Attacks *[Mexico City NOTIMEX]* 21
'War' on Terrorism, Drug Trafficking Launched *[Mexico City NOTIMEX]* 22

Nicaragua

More on Issue of Cesar, Kirkpatrick, U.S. Aid 22
Chamorro, Daniel Ortega Cited *[BARRICADA 22 May]* 22
Gen. Ortega Accuses Cesar *[Managua Radio]* 23
Presidency Minister Cited *[Managua Radio]* 23
Foreign Minister Comments *[Managua TV]* 25
Deputy Minister Cited *[BARRICADA 22 May]* 25
Officials React to Kirkpatrick Article 26
Minister Mendieta Responds *[LA PRENSA 21 May]* 26
Banks Issue Communique *[Managua Radio]* 26
Cesar, Aleman Said To Promote Confrontation *[EL NUEVO DIARIO 22 May]* 26
Cosep President Cited on Meeting With Chamorro *[Managua Radio]* 28
Next OAS Assembly To Be Held in Country *[Managua TV]* 28

Panama

Endara Returns From Europe, Describes Visit *[LA PRENSA 24 May]* 29
PTJ Director Objects to Court Ruling on Navarro *[CRITICA LIBRE 23 May]* 29
Searches, Seizures Continue *[EL PANAMA AMERICA 22 May]* 30
New Items Included in Treaty With El Salvador *[LA PRENSA 25 May]* 30
Government Regulates Public Security Agencies *[EL PANAMA AMERICA 21 May]* 30
Poll on Government Readiness for Canal Management *[EL PANAMA AMERICA 21 May]* 31

SOUTH AMERICA

Brazil

Collor's Psychological Condition Causes Concern *[FOLHA DE SAO PAULO 23 May]* 32
Collor Releases Letter Denying Brother's Charges *[Rio de Janeiro TV]* 32
Biodiversity, Forests, Climate Issues at Rio-92 *[Brasilia Radio]* 32
Nuclear Program Frozen; Other Energy Sought *[O GLOBO 23 May]* 33
* Principal Problems Facing Economic Team Viewed *[EXAME 29 Apr]* 33

Chile

Pinochet Receives Pacemaker; in 'Complete Charge' *[Santiago TV]* 36
Amendment of Armed Forces Law Viewed *[Santiago TV]* 37
Shining Path Supporters Claim Attack on Embassy *[Madrid EFE]* 37
Border Patrolled To Keep Out Shining Path *[Santiago Radio]* 37

Colombia

Former House Representative President Released *[Santa Fe de Bogota TV]* 38
Officials Discuss Disappearance of FARC Leader *[Santa Fe de Bogota TV]* 38
Defense Ministry Reports 'Heavy Combat' at Uraba *[Santa Fe de Bogota TV]* 38
Casualties Reported in Clash *[Santa Fe de Bogota TV]* 39
AD/M-19 Declares Emergency, Demands Amnesty *[Santa Fe de Bogota TV]* 40
Attorney General Comments *[Santa Fe de Bogota TV]* 40
Official Says Health Minister To Resign *[Santa Fe de Bogota TV]* 40
Foreign Trade Minister Moved to Finance Ministry *[EL NUEVO SIGLO 21 May]* 41
* Job Opportunities for Ex-Combatants Described *[CROMOS 13 Apr]* 41

Paraguay

Ex-Police Officers Sentenced in Torture Case *[ULTIMA HORA 22 May]* 42
Rodriguez Appoints, Confirms Army Commanders *[ABC COLOR 20 May]* 42
Presidential Candidate Zapag Views Platform *[ABC COLOR 22 May]* 42

Peru

Fujimori Discusses OAS Meeting, Democratization *[Lima TV]* 42
Forum To Draft Rules for Constituent Congress *[Lima Radio]* 51
Government Rejects OAS Human Rights Resolution *[Lima TV]* 51
Cab Bomb Explosion Leaves One Dead, 40 Injured *[Lima Radio]* 52
Defense Minister on Suspended U.S. Antidrug Aid *[Mexico City NOTIMEX]* 52
Government Appoints 'Temporary' Attorney General *[Lima Radio]* 52
Development Bank Created *[EL COMERCIO 22 May]* 52
Municipal Workers Demand Payment of Salaries *[Lima Radio]* 52

Uruguay

Spain's ETA, Tupamaros Link Investigated *[Madrid Radio]* 53
Deputies Revoke Draft Social Security Bill *[Madrid EFE]* 53

Venezuela

Minister Proposes 'Great National Agreement' *[Madrid EFE]* 53
Parties Approve Agreement *[Caracas TV]* 54
Leftists Seek Violence *[AFP]* 54
Armed Forces Unified *[Caracas TV]* 55
Foreign Minister Calls For End of Cuban Embargo *[Mexico City NOTIMEX]* 55
On Peru; Trade With Spain *[Caracas TV]* 56
No Intervention in Haiti *[Mexico City NOTIMEX]* 56
Student Protest Turns Violent in Los Teques *[Mexico City NOTIMEX]* 56
Ministry Denies Charges Against Army Officers *[Caracas TV]* 57
Chamber of Deputies President Reports on Reforms *[Caracas TV]* 57
Poll Indicates Drop in President's Popularity *[Mexico City NOTIMEX]* 58
* Army Sergeants Describe Promotions, Conditions *[EL NACIONAL 20 Apr]* 58

Peru

In an "exclusive" interview with Lima TV, President Fujimori answers questions about his trip to the OAS meeting in the Bahamas and his plans for the return of democracy. When asked if his plans have been altered by domestic or international pressure, Fujimori says the government has "not shifted our position one single millimeter" and that he continues to "condemn the government of the political parties." Fujimori says that the idea of a constituent assembly was part of his plan from the "beginning" and has now taken form as the Democratic Constituent Congress, CCD. The creation of the CCD will restore the balance of powers by its "very installation," Fujimori says. In addition, Fujimori promises that the body would be autonomous and have power whether or not he approves of its decisions, just as long as "the people's feelings are expressed." Fujimori reiterates that the number of legislators should be reduced and the terms of both legislators and judicial officials should be shortened. In response to questions concerning terrorism, Fujimori says "terrorism must be confronted with peace," and outlines the policies of his government that have sought a reduction of the Shining Path including the support of rural regions, elimination of terrorist control of universities and prisons, and an understanding of the situation by the international community.

Venezuela

Foreign Minister Calderon calls for an end to the U.S. blockade of Cuba and its return to the "Latin American community," NOTIMEX reports. Calderon says the embargo has not produced "the desired effect" of causing the downfall of Castro's government, and believes that "human and economic exchanges" will prompt a political transformation of Cuba, as was the case in Eastern Europe.

Following the OAS meeting in the Bahamas, statements by Foreign Minister Calderon indicate that the government has radically changed its stand on armed intervention in Haiti, NOTIMEX reports. In a news conference on 22 May, Calderon says that "Venezuela is not proposing a military intervention in Haiti and would not participate in one." That is a drastic departure from the government's position in October 1991 when President Perez ordered the Army to evaluate the possibility of intervening in Haiti with forces from other OAS member nations, according to NOTIMEX. Calderon also warns that if additional economic sanctions do not improve the situation in Haiti, a climate of "generalized violence" could soon develop.

Caracas TV reports that Calderon says that the government may renew relations with Peru in the future if President Fujimori "fulfills his pledge" to support a constituent assembly.

Nicaragua

BARRICADA reports President Chamorro "believes that the United States and other countries will maintain their aid to Nicaragua despite National Assembly President Cesar's remarks" concerning the discontinuation of U.S. aid. Cesar's comments, the president says, "hurt the country." She attributes Cesar's "actions among U.S. congressmen" to his "ego." Daniel Ortega believes Cesar is "playing the role of CIA agent to 'sabotage Nicaragua's efforts to establish a minimum degree of stability.'" Managua radio reports that General Humberto Ortega Saavedra accuses Cesar of maintaining a "systematic boycott" affecting "disbursement and economic support that comes from international financial institutions to this government." Managua radio and other media report Nicaraguan officials believe U.S. aid will continue. Presidency Minister Lacayo says "there is no evidence the U.S. Government will suspend aid."

Guatemala

PRENSA LIBRE reports that President Serrano cancels his visit to the UN in Geneva because of a "diplomatic incident and not because citizens and the president's detractors opposed the trip," according to "persons close to the president." The Public Relations Secretariat ran an

advertisement that indicated UN support for the "role of civilian security forces." "The surprise of UN officials in Guatemala was enormous" and resulted in a "formal protest." "To cite UN Resolution 1992-57 out of context and assert that it 'recognizes the growing importance of organizing civil defense forces' offends the seriousness of the UN and the international community." As a result, President Serrano fires his public relations secretary, but PRENSA LIBRE says the advertisement was a "result of an institutional decision. Its purpose was to justify the official arms buildup policy..."

Mercosur Ministers Approve Working Schedule

PY2305213292 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 0029 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Buenos Aires, 22 May (NA)—The summit of Mercosur [Common Market of the South] ministers today spelled out existing doubts about the compatibility of member countries' economic systems by approving a working schedule with goals and deadlines for the period ending at the beginning of 1995. The document will be presented at the Mercosur presidential summit in Las Lenas on 26 June.

This was confirmed by Economy Minister Domingo Cavallo. He reiterated "the firm political decision" of member countries' governments to avoid the risk of delays insinuated in the past few months.

The meeting that took place at the National Bank headquarters afforded member countries an opportunity to ratify their decision to give Mercosur a high priority.

Participating in the meeting were Brazilian Economy Minister Marcilio Marques Moreira, Uruguayan Economy Minister Ignacio de Posadas, and Paraguayan Finance Minister Juan Jose Diaz Perez.

Cavallo said that participants discussed topics of "a very extensive agenda that elaborated on issues already discussed at previous meetings in Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro."

"Each minister spoke about the economic situation in his own country and the progress made since last November. We also analyzed our countries' prospects for the coming months," Cavallo said.

The Argentine minister said participants discussed "how to advance in the coordination of policies to gradually make the common market viable. The participants also created working groups to unify criterion and definitions in order to formulate a macroeconomic policy agreement."

Cavallo said the ministers evaluated "the fulfillment of goals proposed in previous meetings," particularly "aspects referring to the financing of exports among Mercosur countries, and the progress in coordinating technical and political regulations to prevent unfair practices in agriculture trading."

Cavallo added: "The agenda included issues like cargo reserves in the Paraguay-Parana waterway, ways to solve Mercosur service problems, the defense of competition, energy production, the easing of border regulations, binational companies' operations, and the other usual topics."

Cavallo confirmed that ministers "reaffirmed the commitment of our countries to prepare for the concrete proposal of having the common market operating on the first day of 1995, that is, to have all aspects coordinated by 31 December 1994."

"The Brazilian Economy Minister (Marcilio Marques Moreira) proposed preparing a schedule with datelines identifying each one of the steps that must be taken to fully implement Mercosur by 31 December 1994," Cavallo said.

The Argentine minister added that such a document will be prepared so that the "presidents' meeting in Las Lenas on 26 and 27 June can approve it. This move was unanimously approved and is one of the most important conclusions of our meeting."

Asked about remarks he made in Spain inferring that the implementation of Mercosur might be delayed, Cavallo said he believed "we are going to fulfill the schedule."

"My answer to Spanish reporters was not intended to create a pessimistic climate with respect to Mercosur's future, but to make my answers more credible," Cavallo said.

The minister explained that reporters asked "how can you say that there will be a Mercosur in full operation by 31 December 1994 with such different inflation rates in member countries and the difficulties in coordinating foreign exchange policies?"

"Then I answered that in the area of eliminating trade barriers and adopting a common foreign duty system—which is the essence of Mercosur—we were progressing quite well and that we could fulfill the schedule," Cavallo explained.

"Regrettably, here in Buenos Aires the press stressed remarks saying that perhaps, in some aspects, we might have delays. The emphasis created doubts with respect to Argentina's firm decision to advance toward the creation of a common market of the south," the minister added.

Cavallo said: "Argentina is firmly committed and will intensify efforts to fulfill the Mercosur schedule in all aspects in order to have Mercosur fully operating as of 31 December 1994."

The minister added, however, that "we will advance quicker in some aspects to compensate for delays in other aspects, but we will recover the lost time later in such a way that we still will arrive in port for the original schedule's dates."

Asked if the June schedule will include the issues of different energy costs, taxes, and currency differences, Cavallo said: "Yes, all aspects that need agreements, the coordination of policies or the adoption of similar rules to converge, will be included in the schedule covering the period until 31 December 1994."

Cavallo added: "We created working groups for each one of those topics to prepare the information and present concrete proposals. The proposals will be discussed at the economy ministers' meetings as they become available, or eventually by presidential summits if the issues merit the distinction."

Cuba

Castro May Attend Ibero-American Summit in Jul

PA2505131692 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1119 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Madrid, 25 May (EFE)—On his arrival in Madrid on 25 May, Cuban Vice President Jose Ramon Fernandez confirmed that "Fidel Castro will attend the Ibero-American summit in July if his government tasks allow him to get away."

Fernandez, who began a visit to Galicia and Asturias on 25 May to prepare the Cuban president's trip in July, maintained that Castro "intends to attend the Ibero-American summit, but we do not know if his many responsibilities will allow him to do so. If so, he will attend."

In statements made on his arrival at Madrid's Barajas Airport, Fernandez added that his trip has two main objectives: to visit Galicia, where Fidel Castro's father was born and where the Cuban president plans to spend several days after the Madrid summit, and "to see Asturias, where some of my ancestors were born and where I expect to find some relatives."

With regard to the upcoming U.S. elections and whether they will have an effect on the current blockade against Cuba, Fernandez said: "One or the other, they are all the same to us, except for a few variations. No U.S. Administration has stopped its hostility, blockade, and threat against the Cuban Revolution."

Concerning the Cuban prisoners released as a result of the mediation of Manuel Fraga, president of the regional Galician government (Xunta), Fernandez said that "during his visit, he behaved like a gentleman, with ethics and full respect, recognition, and awareness of the situation in Cuba. This is why we heeded his request."

He referred to a request by a group of Cuban dissidents who asked authorities in Moscow to stop aid from the former USSR to Cuba. Jose Ramon Fernandez reported "that it has had no effect on us."

He added that "these people have the same attitude as the U.S. imperialist government. They are servants of imperialism and, as such, they deserve nothing but scorn."

The Cuban vice president will spend five days in Galicia. During that time, he plans to meet with Fraga, maintain contacts with businessmen, visit the "Green Week" International Industrial and Agro-Food Fair in Silleda, and tour several towns.

Commentary Views UN Silence on U.S. Terrorism

FL2505162592 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 23 May 92

["Text" of 23 May GRANMA editorial: "David, Goliath, and the Guests of Stone"]

[Text] The UN Security Council was the stage on 21 May for an energetic condemnation by Cuba and, immediately after that, an unfortunate and shameless mockery of the principles of justice and equality by the nations led by the United States. This is one more proof of the imperative need to democratize the functioning of the United Nations.

Cuba stressed before the United Nations the need for the Security Council to act consistently with its own recent resolutions and actions on the subject of terrorism and that it help bring to justice the authors of the October 1976 bombing of a Cubana plane, as well as help put an end to the promotion, protection, or tolerance of terrorist activities conducted against Cuba from U.S. territory.

Just a few weeks ago, convened as requested by the United States with the support of other Western powers and their new, ex-socialist allies, the Security Council, quickly and diligently, imposed upon Libya the obligation of extraditing two citizens who the U.S. Government regards as suspects in the bombing of two civilian airplanes in 1988 and applied against that country strong economic sanctions with a virtual blockade on air traffic and arms sales. This UN organ also made a pledge, at the 31 January summit, to a program to end terrorism in the world.

Our country, harassed and threatened by the United States, victim for more than three decades of bloody actions and terrorist acts organized, promoted, or allowed by that government, and subjected by that government to an unrelenting economic embargo, has the right to ask: What can it expect from these policies for the protection of its sovereignty and right to self-determination? Cuba has a right to ask: What kind of a world do we live in? What can we expect from the United Nations? What is the usefulness of the Security Council? Based on our experiences, we also have the right to know if in the currently emerging new world order, under the growing unipolar hegemony of the United States, the United Nations is going to make a distinction between an undesirable type of terrorism, carried out by citizens of certain nations, and a type of desirable, justifiable, or excusable terrorism which is supported, or promoted by the superpower, or if it serves its political goals. So far, the actions of the incumbent authorities, and of some permanent members of the Security Council, are alarming signs of a double moral standard.

Only the categorical demand of the Cuban representative to the United Nations, based on the Charter and procedural rules of the United Nations, was able to put an end to the delays, the informal treatment of the subject, and the maneuvers to avoid discussing the

Cuban accusation and proposed resolution. It was the fear of confronting the United States, and the policy of pressure and blackmail that the United States uses, which was preventing the discussion of a subject which might lead to criticism or condemnation of the new Roman Empire.

The Security Council, which in an almost automatic and expeditious manner has endorsed every recent U.S. demand against Third World countries, this time took almost a month in responding to a request by a member nation.

But the most astonishing fact—more appropriate to a Bunuel film than to the august headquarters of the United Nations—was 21 May's session in which a suddenly petrified and silent Security Council limited itself to listen to two speakers, the Cuban representative, who stated Cuba's demands in precise and irrefutable terms; and the U.S. representative, who virtually mocked the participants by not referring to any of the specific points presented by Cuba, and who apparently believes that the empire does not have to lower itself to respond to the demand to release all information regarding the monstrous Barbados crime, in which 73 people lost their lives, or information on terrorists Orlando Bosch and Luis Posada Carriles, the organizers and main authors of this crime.

As Cuba demonstrated before the Security Council, the United States has copious and significant documentation on this event which it very purposefully did not provide to the Venezuelan courts which tried the saboteurs because it is evident that Bosch, as well as Posada Carriles, were veteran agents in the service of the dirty war of the Central Intelligence Agency against Cuba.

Regarding Bosch, as the Cuban ambassador pointed out, the deportation order issued against him by the U.S. Justice Department after studying his long criminal record—inside and outside the United States—could only be suspended through the highest intervention of the executive branch. Only a fool would believe that the shelter presently provided to this terrorist in the United States is the result of anything but a decision by the U.S. Government, possibly directly from President Bush, to whom the CIA and its past commitments are not, of course, unknown.

Regarding Posada, only an even greater fool could believe the line that the United States does not know his whereabouts. This veteran CIA agent, mercenary, and terrorist, escaped from prison in Venezuela thanks to a $50,000 bribe supplied by the president of the so-called National Cuban-American Foundation, Jorge Mas Canosa, who is also a mercenary and terrorist and who, as is well known, is a close associate of Jeff Bush, the son of the Yankee President. After this strange episode, Posada reappeared in EL Salvador with a new identity, as a U.S. Government employee at the service, no less, of Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North and his covert weapon trafficking operations on behalf of the contras in Central America.

It is obvious that the two terrorists and murderers are under the protection of the U.S. Government or one of its specialized agencies. This is as obvious as the fact that while George Bush was endorsing before the Security Council, in January of this year, an international program against terrorism, at the exact same time, hundreds of Cuban-born members of terrorist commandos were training openly and shamelessly in Florida with the outspoken and public goal of sending new sabotage teams to Cuba, such as the one captured and openly tried at the beginning of the year.

At about this same time, during a news conference at a downtown Miami hotel, the terrorist Tony Cuestas publicly claimed responsibility for the terrorist team which infiltrated into Matanzas. He further boastfully announced that such actions would continue. This individual has not been hindered in any way by the Federal Bureau of Investigations, despite all the evidence against him and the fact that he flagrantly violates the U.S. Neutrality Law and other laws.

The Cuban Government, likewise, presented to U.S. authorities detailed and explicit information with the names, addresses, activities, and other data on the ringleaders and main terrorist groups of Cuban-origin which are training for and preparing plans of aggression against Cuba in the United States; yet, effective measures have not been taken to halt these events either.

Is this the country which plans to become the champion of the international campaign against terrorism, when it is unable to restrain it within its own territory?

The height of cynicism and impudence occurred when the Yankee representative at the United Nations, in an attempt to dismiss the importance of the Cuban accusation regarding the bombing of a plane on which 57 Cubans, 11 Guyanese youths, and five North Korean citizens were massacred in a barbaric manner, commented before the United Nations that the event had taken place too many years ago. Mr. Edward Perkins should have the courage to come and repeat these stupid excuses personally to the relatives of the victims of that terrorist act. They did not even have the consolation of recovering the bodies of their beloved ones.

Abhorrent crimes of this nature are unspeakable. It does not matter that 15 years have gone by, such as in the Barbados bombing, or four years such as in the Lockerbie bombing over Scotland. Only justice can compensate the pain of the families and the offense inflicted upon the feelings of mankind.

Cuba, therefore, will not stop its accusations and demands. We will continue to demand that the Security Council fulfill its duty; we will continue to demand that the U.S. Government release the evidence it possesses on the Barbados crime and its authors, renounce the use of

its territory to organize, promote, or carry out terrorist acts against Cuba, and desist from violating the very resolutions which it has endorsed in the Security Council.

The moral poverty, cowardliness, servility, and opportunism of others are not our concern; everyone has to answer for his own conduct before mankind and before history. This bitter minute that we live will not be eternal, nor will the indignity and baseness which we witness go unpunished. If others become silent, if others get scared, if others sell off or betray, Cuba, on the contrary, with her head held high and with more courage than ever, defends and will defend at any cost the principles of justice, the sovereign equality of nations, and the national independence.

U.S. Accused of Three Decades of Terrorism

PA2305163992 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 0000 GMT 23 May 92

[Roberto Morejon commentary]

[Text] U.S. State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler and the U.S. representatives to the United Nations believe that a crime may be forgotten. Following this line of thinking, they consider it inappropriate for Cuba to demand before the United Nations the extradition of the terrorists who were responsible for sabotaging a Cuban airplane 16 years after the event took place.

The United States is not interested in the point of view of the relatives of the 73 victims of the Cubana de Aviacion airplane that was blown up, and they forget that those relatives are still asking that justice be done.

Cuba asked the UN Security Council to call a meeting aimed at getting the organization to support the extradition of Orlando Bosch and Luis Posada Carriles, the masterminds behind the sabotage of the Cuban airplane that blew up a short time after it left Barbados in 1976. Bosch walks freely through the streets of Miami, despite accusations that are pending for violations of U.S. laws. Posada Carriles escaped from a Venezuelan prison to later turn up in Central America as a CIA emissary.

When the UN Security Council meeting finally began after a marked delay, Cuba reiterated its request for the organization to examine those terrorist activities against Cuba that were conducted, supported, or fostered by the United States.

The files on U.S. subversion against Cuba are voluminous. At the very early date of 2 February 1959, one month after the victory of the revolution, the CIA sent a terrorist group to kill President Fidel Castro. Since 1959, groups financed by the United States have been involved in countless acts of sabotage or have participated in destabilizing activities. Even the U.S. Embassy actively participated in these types of actions. On 8 August 1959, Stanley Wilson, an embassy representative, was detained when he was conducting a meeting of counterrevolutionaries in Havana. Other criminal actions followed, such as air attacks on sugarcane plantations and industrial centers, the use of explosives in the sabotage of economic targets and even of commercial establishments, attempts against leaders, and an attack in which the French merchant ship Lecoubre was blown up in the Port of Havana.

Attacks continue even though three decades have passed since the terrorist actions first began. The capture on 29 December 1991 of a subversive commando in charge of setting explosives in public places is proof of this.

The UN Security Council cannot be indifferent to this chain of attacks.

Commentary Views U.S. Military Base Closings

PA2305194292 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 0000 GMT 23 May 92

[From the "Commenting on the News" segment with Arnaldo Hernandez Romeu and Victor Perez Galdos Ortiz]

[Text] [Galdos] I am not alone today. After having been on holiday for a couple of days, I am back once again and accompanied by my good friend and colleague Arnaldo Hernandez Romeu. Good evening Arnaldo.

[Hernandez] Good evening Victor and listeners.

[Galdos] It is good to have you here tonight, Arnaldo. Today, I suggest we comment on the issue of the U.S. troop withdrawal from different military bases located throughout the world. This was announced sometime today. The announcement reaffirms the U.S. commitment to proceed with the dismantling of several military bases, specifically in Europe and, as I have understood it, in South Korea.

[Hernandez] Indeed, Victor. Today, international press agencies have been announcing the U.S. decision to dismantle its military bases located overseas. This movement began in 1990, as a consequence of the shaping of another movement initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union, a movement that eventually culminated in the disintegration of the socialist camp and the Soviet Union itself. Coincident with this, once the threat of East-West conflict had been eliminated—and the phase described as the Cold War had come to an end—most naturally, it was no longer necessary to have such an armed force overseas to fight against international communism, a communism that no longer existed in the world.

As I said, this movement really began in 1990. From 1990 until today, when it was announced that the United States would continue disarming, at least 80,000 U.S. soldiers based overseas have been demobilized. In addition, a total of 559 military installations have been partially or totally dismantled.

[Galdos] Arnaldo, as you well know, this also represents a bit of a paradox. Of course, the world is quite content with the fact that military bases are being dismantled and that militarism, as such, is diminishing. As a result of this decision, there is a peaceful atmosphere. Nevertheless, as you pointed out, this peaceful atmosphere has come about not only because of the balance between two different forces that mutually respect each other. This situation has also come about because of the disintegration of the former socialist countries.

I said before that this disarming or dismantling of military bases by the United States in different parts of the world also opens the door to new situations. For example, this decision will affect at least 6,000 U.S. soldiers, 800 civilians, and approximately 2,500 civilian workers in each of the different countries [figures as heard]. This is because there are plans to dismantle more than 60 military bases in Europe and two in South Korea. There are a significant number of bases that will be closed down. Most of them are located in Germany.

[Hernandez] Certainly, Victor. I believe this moment is one of joy. Humankind rejoices every time military bases are eliminated. However, there are questions I keep asking myself. What was the need to have so many overseas bases in the first place? The United States has the entire world surrounded by military bases. I also believe that every one of these countries will be somewhat more sovereign, more free, when the presence of foreign troops on their territories finally comes to an end. This relates not only to Germany's case; Germany is just the initial phase. It also relates to Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Greece, Italy, and the Netherlands. The United States has had the world saturated with military bases. Military base reductions will take place in the countries just mentioned. Therefore, mankind should feel joyous over the fact that the world is demilitarizing.

[Galdos] Arnaldo, before concluding, I would like to compare the announcement of U.S base dismantlement in different parts of the world to its stubbornness in remaining in Cuba, with a military base that is contrary to the sovereign will of the Cuban people. From a military perspective, this base has no strategic value whatsoever.

[Hernandez] I agree. Our comments would be incomplete if we did not compare the U.S. decision to eliminate troops stationed on foreign soil to its stubbornness in continuing its presence at the Guantanamo Naval base, contrary to the opinion of the Cuban Government and its people. It is also important to point out the U.S. decision to increase the number of troops stationed at Guantanamo during the month of May. From 1 May to 21 May, 92 military maneuvers of the U.S.-sponsored Ocean Venture have taken place in the Caribbean area close to Cuba. During this period, the number of troops stationed at Guantanamo increased to 30,000 soldiers. In addition, at least 20 warships and several aircraft have been participating in the maneuvers.

This only leads to two conclusions. Either the United States wants to continue its long-standing history of intervention in Latin America, or it simply wants to regard Cuba as a dangerous enemy. This is completely ridiculous. It is ludicrous to believe that a small island with 10 million inhabitants could represent a threat to the United States. Cuba is a country that has been economically blocked by the United States for the past 30 years, with a second blockade in effect as a consequence of the disintegration of the socialist bloc and the Soviet Union, where Cuba had obtained more than 80 percent of its supplies.

This is more ridiculous to believe, especially at a time when we are undergoing such a difficult situation and are not receiving the support of any superpower, to use a term the United States frequently uses. In this respect, I subscribe to the opinion of a 5 May GRANMA editorial that points out that, from the taxpayers' perspective, it is futile for the United States to incur massive expenditures at a time when there are complaints about the impact of an economic recession. It is something that no one really understands. No normal person can understand this way of thinking.

At this very moment—maybe not at this exact moment—but approximately 48 hours ago, we had the following troops on Cuban territory: the 18th Airborne; the 82d Airborne Division; the 101st Airborne Division Air Assault Group; the 24th Mechanized Division; the 10th Light Infantry Mountain Division; the 2d Expeditionary Infantry forces; as well as Special Operations Forces. There was a gathering of 30,000 troops on Cuban territory when, in the rest of the world, there is an inverse process of demilitarization taking place. This is really incredible.

[Galdos] No doubt this only serves to contrast the foreign policy followed by the United States. In other words, while trying to convey a disarmament image in one part of the world, it persists in wanting to maintain the Guantanamo Naval base in our territory. Not only that, but it insists on carrying out very dangerous maneuvers that could lead to confrontation or, worse yet, could be used to justify some type of conflict. Well, Arnaldo, I believe we should now make way for the "Cuban Panorama" segment. Tomorrow we will meet here again to continue commenting on the news.

[Hernandez] Of course.

Ministry Communique on Aid to Haitian Refugees

FL2205184092 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] The Foreign Ministry has issued a communique in which it states that our country, in its attitude of solidarity with the Haitian people, has provided aid and protection to more than 40,000 refugees since the eighties. According to the Foreign Ministry declaration, in the past few days there has been an increase in the number of boats leaving Haiti, with a disproportionate

number of citizens on board who are trying to leave that country due to the continued deterioriation there in the adverse economic and social circumstances of backwardness, poverty, and neglect.

An intensification in the climate of violence that has prevailed since the overthrow of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has now intensified the situation. The document asserts this more than a few times. Sometimes, at the risk of their own lives, Ministry of the Interior rescue brigades, with the determined support of ordinary citizens, have participated in the rescue of many Haitian emigrants who have shipwrecked off the Cuban coast.

The Foreign Ministry communique, which is published in full in GRANMA, also states that the boats arrive in our country overloaded with men, women, old people, and children who are seeking in Cuba a respite from the hardships, fatigue, or hunger of the journey, refuge against bad weather, or aid against the danger of capsizing, due to the generally poor condition of the boats. The document presents the conclusion that the people who take this course are the victims of various cruel kinds of extortion in which even U.S. employers in Florida participate. They have turned this traffic into a fraudulent and inhumane business. We have enough evidence and testimony that in many cases the emigrants are later forced, by the boat skippers who organize these trips, to pay for the services that Cuba has provided them free.

Cuba's main concern is to protect their lives and prevent unfortunate events, such as the most recent accident which took place off the coast of Guantanamo in which 20 people died. Given these circumstances, the Cuban Government has arrived at the decision that starting today, any boat that arrives on the Cuban coast with Haitian emigrants will not be permitted under any circumstances to continue its journey carrying the emigrants on board.

The boat skippers or owners should pay the costs deriving from the arrival of their boats in our country and the services for docking, repairing, and maintaining the boats. With the cooperation of the authorities of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Committee of the Red Cross, the Haitians will be repatriated by air as has been done in previous cases.

Raul Castro Continues Tour of Eastern Provinces

FL2305121192 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0000 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Army General Raul Castro during his tour of the eastern provinces visited the Los Mangos de Baragua Municipality in Santiago de Cuba.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Moralis Pupo] Army General Raul Castro made an extensive tour of the permanent installation of the most important unit of the Eastern Army, known by everyone as the 50th Division. Accompanying the Army general was Division General Ramon Espinosa. Colonel (Alfredi Garza), leader of the unit, gave the Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR] minister a report on combat preparedness, discipline, spirit, and the political and morale state of the division.

The second secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba called the results obtained on each one of the topics discussed satisfactory and recalled the history of the fighting-spirit in this unit, which was established just before the mercenary aggression at the Bay of Pigs and is the pride of the Eastern Army.

Raul was interested in the condition of weapons, combat technology, the preparation of the theater for military operations, as well as the condition of troop resources, food, and frequency and safety of transportation of personnel on leave. He also inquired about social aspects of the military communities, where more than 800 apartments have been built, and the installations that offer health, education, meals, culture, sports and recreation services among others.

The question of the food program and self-sufficiency of all the personnel of the unit was also analyzed. During a visit to the agricultural production areas of the division, Raul talked with a group of cadets from the Jose Maceo Joint Services School and soldiers from the division involved in tending the fields. They were joined by a group of female civilian agricultural livestock workers of the district who live in a nearby village. The FAR minister acknowledged the progress made by the division in the production of food while keeping in mind, however, that there is still a lot to be done in the 500 caballerias which the unit has been assigned. Raul gave precise instructions to plant every hectare, including fruit and wood trees, to achieve high yields, to continue reducing costs, in other words, to turn the district into a productive garden. He urged the soldiers to produce products from the soil and the water, since the 400 hectares of the Protesta de Baragua reservoir, assigned to the division, require millions of fry to achieve a high production of fish. Raul concluded with this comment:

[Castro] Three years ago I was saying that cannons were as important as beans; today I would say that beans are almost more important than cannons, because there is nothing we can do with cannons if we do not have beans. Is this clear? You have good soil, good soldiers, good discipline, a good extension of land, and are now begining to intensify its exploitation. In all this district, in the agricultural food program of the division, in the Eastern Army there should not be a single square meter not cultivated. [end recording]

Politburo Member on Future, Enemies of Socialism

AU2505193092 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 25 May 92 p 155

[Interview with Roberto Robaina, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Cuba and first secretary

of the communist youth organization, by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Finally Leave Us Alone"]

[Text] Robaina, 26, first secretary of the youth organization of the Communist Party of Cuba and youngest member of its Politburo, is regarded as Fidel Castro's crown prince and as an advocate of reforms—within socialism.

[DER SPIEGEL] Thousands of Cubans, particularly the young ones, are escaping at the risk of their lives from their homeland in home-made boats. Why is the young generation running away from Fidel Castro?

[Robaina] It is true that many want to leave the island. The emigration wave is stimulated from the outside by false promises, which can, of course, dazzle many. Young people who do not yet know about capitalism fall into the trap more easily than older ones who have already experienced it. On the other hand, there are millions who stay and continue our project. Thus, one cannot draw the conclusion that the young people abandon the revolution. They back Fidel and his work.

[DER SPIEGEL] Many do not seem to be consoled any longer by the fact that, compared to other Third World countries, they are well off. They look at the United States with envy.

[Robaina] The young seek adventures—all the more so the Cubans who, for 30 years, were confronted there with a system that has nothing to do with their own reality.

[DER SPIEGEL] What can the Cuban leadership do to prevent the loss of the young people?

[Robaina] The young people must feel, through experience, that the revolution belongs to them. They must have the opportunity for cooperation, so that they feel like exerting themselves. Today there is a multitude of young specialists, scientists, and technicians who are responsible for production. More than half of the Politburo members were born during the revolution or a few years earlier. This is forgotten by those who are asking continuously: Where is the young man who will replace Fidel?

[DER SPIEGEL] It is precisely you who is considered Castro's crown prince. Do you want to become his successor?

[Robaina] No decent Cuban thinks of Fidel's death. We love him. We are so happy that he is still with us. Therefore, we are not concerned about the question of his successor. Moreover, I believe that there are many able people in Cuba. The country's future does not depend on whether a Juan or a Pedro leads the country—it consists of teamwork. I do not have any ambitions whatsoever.

[DER SPIEGEL] Last October's party congress clung to the one-party system, but it introduced for the first time direct parliamentary elections. Will the deputies get more influence on the decision of the state leadership in the future?

[Robaina] We want to discuss important questions with the people's representatives. However, it is better if the party sticks to its task and does not interfere with the business of the government.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are many Cubans disappointed at this minimal reform?

[Robaina] On the contrary, a large part of the population was agreeably surprised. However, it was rejected abroad because the people there are only interested in whether we introduce the multiparty system. We never intended this.

[DER SPIEGEL] How long will Cuba be able to cling to Marxism?

[Robaina] We not only want to reform our system, but we wish that we were able to implement the changes more quickly. However, because of the aggression from the outside, we must examine very carefully how far we can venture forward. I tell those who are putting pressure on us: Finally leave us alone, so that Cuba can develop.

[DER SPIEGEL] The United States wants to step up the embargo against Cuba, while the subsidies for Cuba from the perished communist party regimes of Eastern Europe have been halted.

[Robaina] This is a reaction of anger because Cuba has not yet fallen. Therefore, our situation will deteriorate. The world must not be silent if a people is to be destroyed in this way. Silence means the toleration of a massacre.

[DER SPIEGEL] Since last fall, arrests of dissidents have been increasing. What does Castro expect to achieve through repression against people who think differently?

[Robaina] The so-called opposition members talk to foreign reporters and do not work because they get money elsewhere. Our rule-of-law state, which gives them all opportunities for defense, took action against them when they instigated actions and declarations that endanger the cause of the overwhelming majority of the population.

[DER SPIEGEL] Some members of the opposition asked Fidel Castro for a dialogue. Why does he not talk to them?

[Robaina] This sounds very nice, but it is only a pretext. They first obtain the agreement of the U. S. representation of interests. Those who make a pact with such an inveterate enemy of the revolution cannot be surprised that we reject any talks.

Haiti

Senate Ratifies Villa d'Accueil Agreement

FL2305122892 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1200 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] The Haitian Senate voted yesterday afternoon to ratify the tripartite agreement signed at Villa d'Accueil by the provisional government, parliament, and the Army. According to parliamentary sources, this law was passed with nine votes in favor, two opposed, and three abstentions.

The tripartite agreement, ratified on 20 May by the Chamber of Deputies, provides for the resignation of the provisional president once a government of consensus, which protects the general public, is formed. The approved text explains that the provisional president will resign from his post once the consensus government takes office, and that the vacuum created by the resignation of the provisional president will not be filled until a final, comprehensive solution to the crisis is found .

The tripartite agreement signed on 8 May in Port-au-Prince provides for the formation of a consensus government of and for the protection of the general public, to consolidate democracy so a crisis solution can be found which is acceptable to all parties, to end the country's diplomatic isolation, and to expedite removal of the OAS embargo.

Further on Ratification

FL2305154592 Port-au-Prince Radio Tropic FM in Creole 1200 GMT 23 May 92

[Passage in bold in French]

[Excerpts] The Villa d'Accueil tripartite agreement was ratified yesterday by the Senate with 14 senators present. The Chamber of Deputies sent the ratification law to the Senate of the Republic two days ago for a ruling on the law. According to information yesterday, nine senators out of 14 voted for it. Let us listen to a short report on the session of the Senate.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] [passage omitted] Many things were discussed during the session. Senator Franck Leonard said he feared Aristide's return. [passage omitted] What does Sen. Robert Opont think?

[Opont] After this [law] has been approved, we can insist that it does not stipulate that the consensus prime minister will be chosen by President Nerette or by President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and that there is nothing in this law that clearly explains this.

[Correspondent] How does Sen. Guy Bauduy think the consensus will be reached? Where?

[Bauduy] [Words indistinct] is part of a process. When an American congressman comes, he does not ask to see me. When the missions come, they do not ask to see me, do they? When a prime minister had be to chosen after the 30 September coup, candidates or former presidential candidates and heads of political parties had met and had ruled on the choice of a candidate. That was then considered a consensus prime minister. What I am wondering now is whether the same procedure will be used and, if so, who will participate. For example, Vladimir Jeanty [leader of the Haitian Party of God] participated; Louis Dejoie [leader of the National Agricultural and Industrial Party] participated; Marc Bazin [leader of the Movement for the Establishment of Democracy in Haiti, MIDH] participated; Francois Benoit [second in command of MIDH] participated; Jean-Claude Roy [leader of the Union of Haitian Constitutionalists] participated; Serge Gilles [senator and leader of the National Progressive Revolutionary Party of Haiti] [words indistinct] participated. **Thus is how a prime minister was chosen, how a government was formed. That was not called a consensus government, but it was that.** Now, we are wondering where the new consensus government will meet and who will be present.

[Correspondent] Nine out of 14 senators approved this ratification law. When will it have the force of law? The executive must ratify... [pauses] must execute this text of the law within eight days. If the executive should dispute this law, objecting that it should be modified, parliament has the right to return it to the executive unchanged and, according to Article 121.4 of the Constitution, the executive must then execute it. [end recording]

Minister Issues Communique on Tripartite Action

FL2205193092 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1600 GMT 22 May 92

["Communique issued by the minister without portfolio" in Port-au-Prince on 22 May—read by announcer]

[Text] The following is a communique issued by the minister without portfolio. The administration of the Republic remains keenly concerned with maneuvers aimed at thwarting the dynamics of the concerted tripartite action. It says it is particularly concerned by the local and international actions intended to counter the nearly unanimous willingness of all Haitians to bring about the most effective consensus possible in its laborious search for a satisfactory solution to the current crisis.

The declaration from the office of the minister without portfolio further states: Violation of the country's airspace on the morning of 18 May reflects a vast campaign aimed especially at destabilizing the still-fragile institutions of the country and compromising all efforts intended to focus the collective patriotic conscience and willingness for change among the people.

The Presidency of the Republic forcefully condemns this blatant act of piracy, terrorism, and international brigandage. In view of this childish attempt to create confusion within a society exposed to all kinds of difficulties,

it reaffirms with determination its willingness to promote the opening up of the political spectrum and the national spirit and to reinforce the operational structures of the government.

The Presidency of the Republic deplores the discriminatory character of the meeting held in Nassau on 17 May and the obvious dishonesty expressed in the conclusions and decisions emerging from that meeting. As a private individual and as head of the executive power, the president of the Republic condemns these resolutions that caricature the spirit of pan-Americanism and the people's rights. Our beloved armed forces, says the declaration, will henceforth be able to inflict a lightning riposte on this kind of undertaking caused by remote-controlled air piracy which is detrimental to the prestige of the government and to the honor of the Armed Forces. The Presidency of the Republic calls on the people, without beating around the bush, to reject calls for subversion and criminal sedition, to keep calm, and to seek a legitimate national solution to a specifically national problem in peace, concord, and fraternity.

This is an excerpt from a declaration of the minister without portfolio delegated to the president of the Republic and [word indistinct] of the government.

Party Rejects Socialist Bloc's Tripartite Stand

FL2205223192 Port-au-Prince Radio Tropic FM in French 1900 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] The position of the Socialist bloc regarding the tripartite agreement does not reflect the position of the Nationalistic and Progressive Revolutionary Party of Haiti, PANPRA, according to a party official. The position adopted on 20 May at the Lower Chamber by the Socialist bloc, the group of Parliamentary Cohesion relating to the ratification of the tripartite agreement, does not reflect the view point of PANPRA regarding the crisis that the country has been facing since 30 September 1991, stated a PANPRA official, who requested anonymity.

The PANPRA official noted that the new position of the Socialist bloc was contrary to the communique issued on 8 May by the PANPRA, issued on the eve of the signing of the tripartite agreement The vote, which has just taken place, is without a doubt the position of a minority of leaders from the Socialist Bloc, of which PANPRA forms part. However, this vote is not at all connected with the party's positions, according to this representative, who also recognized the existence of differences within the party. He noted the possibility that some members of this political formation and some sectors of the population assimilate PANPRA's position to maneuver to (?discrediting) the party, after the position of the Socialist bloc at the Lower Chamber. However, he denied the existence of any affinity between the Socialist bloc and the Parliamentary Cohesion.

Questioned on whether PANPRA will take a public position and withdraw from the Socialist bloc, the PANPRA official stated that no meeting has been scheduled to discuss such a question.

It should be noted that PANPRA indicated in a press release dated 8 May that those parliamentarians who acted for the parliament in the negotiations which led to the 23 February agreement, and the Washington agreement itself, took important roles in the search for a consensus. PANPRA also stated that it rejected beforehand any solution resulting from the Villa d'Acceuil talks, which did not fulfill the expectations and aspirations of the population.

PANPRA had joined with the Movement for the Establishment of Democracy in Haiti, MIDH; the National Patriotic Movement of 28 November, MNP-28; and the National Alliance for Democracy and Progress, ANDP, in order to participate in the 16 December 1990 elections. PANPRA disassociated itself from this electoral alliance on 30 January 1991. Quote: This new situation demands another strategy, which goes beyond party interests or party alliances, or alliances in order to form a Socialist bloc, large and unitarian, within the parliament, unquote, wrote Andre Brutus, Pierre E. Dugene, and Dully Brutus.

The vote on the tripartite agreement in the Lower Chamber occurred after a session from which the parliamentarians from the Socialist bloc, joined those from the Alliance for the Parliamentary Cohesion in order to write a document of consensus to be submitted to the Assembly. The document written by the two blocs implicitly recognizes that the choice of the prime minister will be made by Provisional President Joseph Nerette. On 2 April the Lower Chamber Socialist Bloc demanded the resignation of the provisional government: President Nerette had failed in his mission to hold elections. As a consequence, he must resign before the National Assembly, stated then the Socialist bloc. Article 149 of the Constitution has expired, stated PANPRA deputy, Dully Brutus, while still thinks that the executive had no constitutional legitimacy. Those statements were made on Tropic FM.

Armed Groups Attack Soldiers in Cite Militaire

FL2505124192 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1100 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Two soldiers and one civilian were shot to death in Port-au-Prince on the night of 23 May by two armed groups dressed in olive-green clothes. These armed groups also shot two other soldiers, injuring them.

Corporal Augustin Silvert and his cousin, a civilian whose identity has not been made known, were shot down near their homes in Cite Militaire, located in Port-au-Prince, by a group armed with Uzi submachine guns made in Israel and Taurus guns made in Brazil. A second group, whose members were also armed with Uzi submachine guns, riddled Soldier Alexis Vikaine with bullets while he was going home in the Saint-Martin

neighborhood. The two dead soldiers were members of the heavy equipment corps, a unit of the light armor division of the Army.

On the same night, two other soldiers, two brothers, were injured when they were shot in their home in Cite Militaire by one of these commandos. One of the victims was still at the Military Hospital of Port-au-Prince 25 May. The other was able to go home after he had received treatment.

One of the armed groups also searched without success for a corporal in his home in Cite Militaire. This corporal was on duty.

According to sources, armed groups began looking for members of the Haitian Armed Forces in the streets of Port-au-Prince the night of 22 May, letting persons they stopped and questioned go without mishap if they were civilians.

On 20 May the Army High Command strongly condemned the attack committed in Port-au-Prince on a second lieutenant. He was beat on the head with iron bars on 20 May by unknown persons who fled after they seized his gun.

Army Condemns Murder

FL2505234292 Port-au-Prince Radio Tropic FM in French 2130 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] The Haitian Army today condemned the actions that cost the lives of two military men and one civilian, shot down by armed men dressed in Army olive green uniforms. The Armed Forces communique calls on the people to maintain peace and faith in the vigilance of the military.

Soldiers Want Meeting With Provisional President

FL2505154792 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1100 GMT 25 May 92

[Excerpts] A group of Haitian Army soldiers have called on the Army leadership to convene a meeting between them and the provisional president so they can discuss his plans for the country. These same soldiers ask the Army officials not to get involved in politics, but instead to take care of the Army's business.

In a statement made on Radio Soleil, the soldiers ask for a meeting with the provisional president so they can find out about his plans for the country. These low-ranking soldiers held a meeting at the beginning of the weekend on the problems of the country. They intend to meet again in order to send a memorandum to the Army commander in chief on the solution to the country's crisis. Let us listen to soldier Adolphe Renaud.

[Begin recording] [Renaud] There is trouble that was triggered off between... [pauses] at the hotel... [pauses] near the Holiday Inn Hotel. Well, (?this is) the reason why we, soldiers, have met to find out what is going on in the country now, because a rumor is circulating. There was the matter of the 23 February agreement, the Washington agreement, but the agreement was not ratified. All right. We know that a new agreement was reached on 8 May. This means there are a number of problems... [pauses] we have met and we will no longer allow some people to use us. We will not allow a number of great majors, a number of general staffs to use us. [sentence as heard] That is to say... [pauses] you know that in 1989 they wanted to hand power over to Lafontant [aborted coup against Avril in April 1989 which resulted in fighting between two garrisons]. At that time, we were struggling so we could fight for them. They used us wrongly. Do you understand what I mean? They have now dissolved the battalion [the Jean-Jacques Dessalines Battalion and the Leopard Corps]. [passage omitted]

We come from the ranks of the people. We are the same as the people. This means that there are a number of things that the people do not understand. [passage omitted] There cannot be two, there cannot be three presidents at the same time. This means Nerette should negotiate with everybody so as to know whether [words indistinct] elections. As for us, we will not fight again because from 30 September until now, we have had our rifles in our hands. We feel that we are in trouble. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] But you said that there was an incident near the Holiday Inn Hotel yesterday. Can you tell us what you mean and who was in trouble?

[Renaud] Well, I can explain that. We, some soldiers, met for....

[Correspondent, interrupting] How many soldiers approximately?

[Renaud] Well, about forty. We met so we could send a document to the general, so we could talk to them. [passage omitted] But we have a problem; we will not allow what happened in 1989 to happen to us again. This means we have been in trouble since 30 September. [passage omitted]

We will first meet with the general staff. We will hold a kind of a meeting with them because, again, we do not say there should not be a president, but if a president is appointed [words indistinct] there will be a civil war. [passage omitted]

At present, if you are wearing military uniforms and are going to your barracks, the people look (?down on) you. They do not respect you. They say you are a thief. They think you are responsible for any thing that happens. They are accusing the general of a number of actions that are happening, but the general does not know about those things. Army members are doing a number of things. We ask that the Army return to its base and not get involved in politics. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Do you intend to hold other meetings to discuss those problems?

[Renaud] Obviously. We, soldiers, held this meeting to make a demand, to send it to the general so he can understand that he must respect the ideology of the Army. [passage omitted] We have sent the [word indistinct] to the general headquarters also because the Army must not get involved in politics. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] The first meeting was then held yesterday afternoon?

[Renaud] Yes.

[Correspondent] Do you intend to meet again so you can come up with a solution?

[Renaud] Well, we will certainly come up with a solution. We ask the general for authorization so Nerette can meet the entire Army, so we can find out what is going on in the country, because we cannot continue to be the ones to experience misery since 30 September. Indeed, we agree to experience misery with the Haitian people. But if the Haitian people do not want somebody, we do not want him either. [end recording]

Cedras Responds to Demand

FL2605000192 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 2200 GMT 25 May 92

[Excerpts] According to individuals claiming to be members of the military institution, the Army must stop its involvement in activities with a political flavor. Members of this group, speaking on Radio Soleil, say the military should remain in their barracks. The group has requested a meeting with provisional President Joseph Nerette to discuss the political situation. According to these individuals, the meeting with provisional President Nerette should be endorsed by the high general staff. They add that the soldiers have initiated a concerted effort to propose a solution to the crisis. [passage omitted]

Interviewed by Radio Soleil, the commander in chief of the Army said these individuals are not members of the military institution. General Raoul Cedras explained that the Army has been and will remain apolitical. The general pointed out that the Army does not support any political leader, especially regarding the choice of a consensus prime minister. The head of the Army denounces maneuvers by sectors trying to provoke the fragmentation of the institution. Gen. Cedras said that the Haitian Armed Forces will remain united in order to fulfill its constitutional mission.

[Begin Cedras recording in Creole] The persons who made those statements are not members of the Army. They claim that the Army is involved in politics. I do not believe it is the Army's role to politicize. The Army has no need for political involvement. Recent events prove this. Following the 30 September events, the Army did not take power precisely because we do not want political involvement. But we are living through a situation within the current juncture that involves the Army in a number of national events. We have made every effort, for eight months, to help the country overcome its present crisis. [end recording]

In his interview with Radio Soleil, Gen. Cedras denies that former tonton macoutes have been integrated into the Army since 30 September. The commander in chief did not want to specify whether the Army's strength has increased since the coup was staged. Gen. Cedras evoked the reason of state [as heard] for this question.

Port-au-Prince Public High Schools Demonstrate

FL2305154892 Port-au-Prince Radio Tropic FM in Creole 1200 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] A wind of revolt, aimed at the policy of the Provisional Government and expressing support for President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, has been blowing through the secondary schools, especially the public high schools [lycees], for several weeks. This trend was again noted yesterday. Some public high schools in the capital such as Lycee Des Jeunes Filles, a public high school for girls; Lycee Jean-Jacques Dessalines; and Lycee Henri Christophe in Diquini were demonstrating. The police surrounded the protest areas to prevent the movement from assuming a greater magnitude. The Lycee Des Jeunes Filles students managed to leave the high school very late yesterday afternoon.

Schoolmaster Arrested

FL2505182792 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1600 GMT 25 May 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] A political agitation in favor of the ousted president has been recorded for several weeks in some public high schools and faculties in Port-au-Prince and other cities in the country, causing several short interventions by the police against students and teachers.

Last Saturday, the director of [the private] College Suisse in Jacmel was questioned by the forces of order and taken to Port-au-Prince after turmoil had reigned in his institution, according to sources close to his family.

However, the protest movement has not been noted in the religious schools and the other private institutions.

Mondestin Denies Senator's Assassination Charge

FL2205162792 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1100 GMT 20 May 92

[Text] Another point in the news today is that Senator Rony Mondestin has rejected allegations by his colleague Senator Raoul Remy that he, Mondestin, was involved in an attempt to assassinate Sen. Remy at the beginning of the month in Cap-Haitien. Sen. Mondestin, who points out that Sen. Remy alters his story each time he tells it, hopes that the truth of the matter will emerge. Mondestin places the accusations within the context of

maneuvers being conducted to divert the people's attention from the country's crisis or to discredit the National Reconstruction Movement [MRN] on the political scene.

[Begin Mondestin recording] I am surprised to see how thoughtlessly and shamelessly Sen. Raoul Remy has taken the liberty of pretending that it was people from my entourage who committed the attempt against him. These thoughtless statements are scandalous. They fall in with all the maneuvers conducted to discredit the MRN, me, and Rene Theodore. I think that—as they did not succeed in killing Mr. Theodore in the attempt against him at the MRN premises, or on other occasions that we know of during that period—they have tried to attack his reputation and integrity to convince the people that we are committing dishonest acts. This is not the way we conduct politics.

In his first statements on Radio Soleil, Sen. Remy said that his attackers spoke only of the Washington agreement and that he did not hear any other words before they shot at him. It is therefore he who has given a political meaning to the attempt. I have noted that Sen. Remy tells a different story, adding to it each time he speaks. During the first statements he made in Cap-Haitien, he said that he did not see the faces of his attackers because it was too dark, and that he heard only two words: agreement protocol.

According to the 9 May issue of the newspaper LE MATIN, the senator told the justice of the peace that he had identified the friend of a senator among those who came and shot at him. In its 13-20 May issue, HAITI-OBSERVATEUR writes the following: The one who shot at him is allegedly the bodyguard of his colleague, Senator of the North and MRN member, Rony Mondestin. In the same article, Sen. Remy, who previously said that he could not identify those who shot at him, said this time that he had identified them, but he also explained that it was a dusky young man. [sentence as heard] There is more: Whereas he had previously said that he had heard only two words, he now said that he heard a complete sentence, stating: What will you do with the agreement protocol?

Which one of all these stories is the truth? Is it not a plot being hatched little by little? Anybody can see what is being done. I hope the whole truth comes out, although we know in this country—it is said—that investigations go well until everyone, including victims and assassins, forget about the facts. Is it not the people—in trying to take advantage of this action—who had personally financed it to kill two birds with one stone—to discredit the MRN, shut me up, exclude me from the democratic struggle; and to divert the people's attention from this very difficult crisis that the country is experiencing. We denounce this plot. It will not pass and it will be nipped in the bud. [end recording]

That was Sen. Rony Mondestin, denying Sen. Raoul Remy's statements that accuse Mondestin of participating in the assassination attempt against him at the beginning of May in Cap-Haitien.

El Salvador

Cristiani Statement on Attack on FMLN Member

PA2505232892 San Salvador TVCE Television Network in Spanish 1615 GMT 25 May 92

[Statement by President Alfredo Cristiani at the Presidential Palace in San Salvador to local and foreign media—live]

[Text] Good morning. I want to begin by commenting on a case that was very much discussed last week. On 22 May we were visited by all the members of Copaz [National Commission for the Consolidation of Peace], who wanted information on the investigation being conducted with regard to the incident in which Mr. Flores Ramos, a member of the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front], was shot. During that meeting, the commission that investigates criminal actions presented the findings thus far of the investigations involving this case.

Basically, the commission explained that it is conducting investigations based on three different hypotheses. One of the hypotheses is that there was an attack on Mr. Flores Ramos. Another hypothesis is that there was a common criminal attack against him. The third hypothesis is that the attack was circumstantial. This third hypothesis is backed by eyewitnesses.

Based on the information we have received from the commission, and based on what has been said by Francisco Jovel, who participated in the meeting as member of Copaz, we have concluded—without disregarding any of the other hypotheses, since hypotheses are never disregarded until there is overwhelming evidence against them—that the attack on Flores Ramos was circumstantial. The facts are that he stopped the vehicle in which he was traveling, he stepped out of the vehicle to look into what appeared to be, according to some, a fight or a robbery, and then either a robber or people engaged in the alleged fighting fired at him with a .22 caliber pistol and wounded him in the knee.

Afterward, the attacker grabbed Flores Ramos' .45-caliber pistol and fired on him again, this time with his own pistol, again wounding him. This has been confirmed, basically, by Francisco Jovel, after he spoke with Flores Ramos.

This .45-caliber pistol had been presented to the police for registration by Father Moreno, a priest who said it was to be used for his personal security. Ballistic tests have been conducted on all the weapons presented by the FMLN for their protection. The .45-caliber caps that were found at the site of the attack match the caps the National Police obtained from the ballistic tests run on that pistol when it was presented as the weapon to be used for Father Moreno's protection.

The use of this pistol was not authorized because it was to be used by a foreigner. At that time we did not have a clear policy on security for foreigners. The policy dealt only with FMLN commanders.

I repeat: In view of what we have thus far, without disregarding any hypothesis, we understand that evidence is leading to the belief that the attack was circumstantial and not a premeditated act against Flores Ramos. The investigations continue, without discarding any of the hypothesis for the time being.

We do regret the FMLN reaction. The FMLN tendentiously has accused an individual by name and Armed Forces and government military groups. We categorically deny these accusations. We have always said, and we reiterate now, that the government will not tolerate any violent act that goes against the peace process. If such an act takes place, the government will act strongly against anyone trying to use violence.

In this case, we regret and reject this FMLN attitude. We hope that they will rectify their stand and rejoin the peace process because it is harming the country for the sake of goals or objectives that only they know. Only they know what they want to achieve by making these somewhat unfounded accusations.

Excepting this act, we can say that this past week we, the government at least, resolved some matters with ONUSAL [UN Observers for El Salvador] and informed the FMLN about acts the government will adopt regarding aspects of the agreement on which the government has either fallen behind or has been the object of FMLN criticism.

The issue of the concentration of forces has been solved, and this week the Armed Forces, National Guard, and Treasury Police will be concentrated in 62 locations. These are the 62 points mentioned in Annex C, two of which will probably be replaced by the general headquarters of the National Guard General and the Treasury Police. This completes the issue of the concentration of the Armed Forces, National Guard, and Treasury Police.

I would say this issue has caused a greater uproar than it really should. Nonetheless, and for the tranquillity of both the FMLN and ONUSAL, National Police reinforcements will continue to be provided for as long as necessary to comply with the responsibility of offering security for the people. These will be done in the future without taking into consideration the former members of the National Guard and the Treasury Police so that this topic will no longer be used as an argument for not complying with the agreements.

A proposal will also be made on the agricultural issue, particularly the land takeovers. According to the charges raised by the owners against the government, there are 96 properties involved. This will be solved as soon as possible. We are awaiting a reply from ONUSAL to begin the procedure and solve these cases. Last week, you learned about the timetable for the events that the National Public Security Academy will schedule to begin the project. We hope the directors of the National

Civilian Police will be appointed this week. Copaz and the director of state intelligence sent their lists of candidates on 22 May.

As for the political participation of the FMLN, we must clarify one point. The timetable does not make any reference to 1 May as a definite date; it says efforts will be made as of 1 May, and not on 1 May. It would be advisable if Copaz—whose members include all of those who participate in the National Legislative Assembly—were to receive the FMLN proposal it said it would present shortly. In this manner, it could be determined what measures will facilitate turning the FMLN into a legally registered political party.

Inasmuch as you will probably ask me what we think of the event held on 23 May, allow me to say we feel anyone can self-proclaim themselves anything. However, there is a big difference between what happened on that day and being recognized as a legal organization that is registered with the Supreme Electoral Tribunal. Therefore, that was just a plain demonstration, where people were brought in from various parts of the country to create some traffic disruptions in San Salvador.

To conclude, we have increased security measures for the FMLN members who are participating in the various working commissions. That was one of the FMLN requests made following the case of Flores Ramos. With this, we believe that as far as the government is concerned, it has complied with all of the provisions of the timetable and the measures to be taken so that the peace process can continue. Today, it is up to the FMLN to state clearly and categorically what it will do to comply with the commitments that are still pending, how its forces will concentrate in the various zones, and how it will get up to date on the weapons inventory. Obviously, there are still indications that this is not up to date, as caches of weapons continue to be found even though some FMLN members would say these were pieces of scrap metal. Those pieces of scrap metal actually kill. They must be destroyed whether they are the very latest models or the previous ones. The commitments do not say anything about the old ones being left out and the newer ones inside. All weapons must be in the area of concentration.

Therefore, everything that has not been complied with, particularly the demobilization of the FMLN, must be complied with. Today, we will answer the FMLN's questions about the programs of rejoining society in a more specific manner so it will not halt the demobilization of the various percentages of the fighters that should be demobilized on 1 June.

We hope the FMLN will reconsider its attitude this week, particularly regarding the case of Flores Ramos. We hope it will announce how it will comply with those agreements that it must comply with and that it has not complied with so far.

Ponce Says 'Criminals' Attacked FMLN Member

PA2405141492 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSU in Spanish 1800 GMT 23 May 92

[Report by Enrique Lemus]

[Text] Defense Minister General Rene Emilio Ponce on the morning of 23 May said official reports indicate an attack on a member of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] was carried out by common criminals. He made this statement at the Ilopango Air Base where he welcomed a high-ranking U.S. Air Force officer. Gen. Ponce added that the attack was not motivated by political reasons. It has been confirmed that it involved common criminals:

[Begin recording] [Ponce] Information available to us indicates this was actually a [passage indistinct]. Thus, we could say categorically that it was not a premeditated, treacherous, or deliberate attack but an incidental occurrence.

We do regret the treacherous, premeditated, and deliberate statements by certain FMLN members [words indistinct]. We believe that the news was (?distorted) at home and abroad and that certain decisions were made hastily, including the FMLN's withdrawal from the National Commission for the Consolidation of Peace and its declaration of a state of emergency and [words indistinct] fulfillment of the agreements. This is a serious situation. It is really unfortunate that the FMLN adopted these measures so hastily.

We believe there is still time to rectify and to analyze these developments more completely and change direction for the sake of the peace process. I can tell you that the investigations and [words indistinct] indicate that this is an incident in which [words indistinct].

[Unidentified Reporter] [Words indistinct]

[Ponce] [Words indistinct] of the weapon confirmed that the shot [words indistinct] the weapon he owns. [end recording]

[Lemus] On the morning of 23 May, Gen. Ponce added that the U.S. Air Force chief is on a working visit to review the progress of the agreements in our country:

[Begin recording] [Ponce] [Words indistinct] in the investigation it is important that the FMLN take this into account.

[Unidentified reporter] What is the purpose of the U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff's visit?

[Ponce] He is here on a professional rapprochement mission. There is no political reason behind his visit [words indistinct] the peace process.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct]

[Ponce] I believe it contradicts the very spirit of the peace agreements. However, [words indistinct] inauguration of offices throughout the country and purely political activities in several cities in the country [words indistinct]. [end recording]

[Lemus] Gen. Ponce reported on his participation in an OAS regular meeting at which he tried to restore the honor of the Armed Forces. Top military leaders, including the defense minister, had been linked at the OAS to a plot to murder the Jesuit priests.

FMLN Announces Will Rejoin Copaz Activities

PA2305041392 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0300 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Following a meeting between Copaz [National Commission for the Consolidation of Peace] and President Alfredo Cristiani at the Presidential House on 22 May, the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] announced it will rejoin the aforementioned commission's work next week.

Copaz met, as scheduled, with President Cristiani for one hour to discuss the attack on FMLN member Vladimir Flores, an event which has caused much controversy in recent days. The media was denied access to the talks, but the results were later revealed. The results were termed positive.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] I think so. We said we would wait for an in-depth investigation of the case. The president has given us important information on the case and I view this as very positive. We are interested in seeing the investigation come to a happy conclusion; we also want the peace process to continue.

[Reporter] Will you rejoin Copaz activities on Monday, 25 May?

[Unidentified speaker] We will join Copaz by 27 May. That is certain. [end recording]

General Juan Orlando Zepeda said that so far everything in the investigation points to common crime. Nevertheless, the government will continue to investigate other hypotheses.

[Begin recording] [Zepeda] All the evidence gathered in the investigation points to a common crime—a mere coincidence or bad luck, we might say. That is what we are investigating. I do not want to say anything else right now, but we cannot rule out the possibility of violence based on some kind of political or ideological dispute. All of those theories are being investigated. A lot of evidence has been gathered; considerable progress has been made in the investigation. I think we will investigate...[pauses] The commission will conclude its work, meaning it will have something specific, in approximately 72 hours.

[Reporter] What was the result of the meeting with President Cristiani, doctor?

[Second unidentified speaker] The president showed us what progress has been achieved in the investigation. It is still too early. The president personally said the investigation continues and three theories are being considered—theft, fight, and political attack—and the three will be thoroughly investigated. [end recording]

Generally, the meeting yielded positive results for the peace process. Now the FMLN will participate in Copaz' work and the recent tension caused by the Vladimir Flores attack is being overcome.

Electoral Tribunal on FMLN Party Registration

PA2305045092 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0300 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Luis Arturo Saldivar, president of the Electoral Tribunal said on 22 May that the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] has not requested legal status as a political party.

[Begin Saldivar recording] We, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, have not yet received any requests from the FMLN to be considered a political party; that is, they have not registered as a political party. [end recording]

Mr. Saldivar also said that if and when the FMLN decides to meet the requirements established by the electoral code, it will have to change the name of Farabundo Marti.

[Begin Saldivar recording] Paragraph 1 of article 108 states that no requests will be received when such requests use the name, initials, or symbols that belong to government institutions, or of persons, living or dead. So, if the FMLN is to follow the procedures described in the Electoral Code, then it cannot be approved because there is a specific provision prohibiting the use of the names of people who no longer live or are alive at the time the request is filed. [end recording]

Regarding the rally the FMLN plans to hold on 23 May, the president of the Electoral Tribunal said that they are free to hold the gathering, just like any other group.

The magistrate also reported on the work of the special electoral commission, charged with the drafting of a new Electoral Code. Saldivar said the commission will probably ask the executive branch for a deadline extension to present the draft bill.

FMLN Political Party 'Must Respect' Law

PA2405185892 San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 23 May 92 p 4

[Text] After noting that the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] has not even asked to be registered as a party, Carmen Calderon de Escalon, Nationalist Republican Alliance legislator, stated: "These people must understand that we live under a rule of law and that they must respect the law."

Other legislative sources indicated that the Salvadoran Constitution forbids the existence of religious and political groups that are backed by arms.

Calderon de Escalon stated that according to the peace agreements, the legalization of the FMLN as a political institution will occur through a legislative decree. The peace agreements establish that the government will guarantee political opportunities for "the normal development of the FMLN, once it becomes a political party."

She noted that political opportunities include "executing recruitment activities; the right to establish the appropriate infrastructure, printing facilities, etc.; and the right to meet and to move about freely for FMLN leaders, activists, and members."

The FMLN leadership has called its rank and file to a rally in a San Salvador stadium on 23 May, where it will proclaim itself a political party.

Marco Valladares, National Conciliation Party legislator, added that the FMLN's pronouncing itself a political party falls outside the framework of the law and the peace agreements because the process for its registration has not begun yet.

Valladares, who is also a lawyer, stressed that existing laws must be respected.

Valladares believes that recruitment activities could take place in two stages. One stage would occur during the phase when the FMLN becomes a political party and the other during the phase when registration is taking place, that is, when signatures are gathered as stipulated by electoral law.

Ludovico Samayoa, Christian Democratic Party legislator, believes that the FMLN's pronouncing itself a party is "somewhat controversial" because it could "polarize the peace process." He noted that the FMLN should try to speed up approval of the decree authorizing its registration as a party.

Samayoa stated that the 23 May rally is a political action aimed at keeping the FMLN rank and file active. He stated that he is not qualified to say whether the FMLN rally is legal or illegal.

Minister, Villalobos on Large Weapons Cache

PA2205151292 San Salvador Canal Seis Television in Spanish 0200 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] The National Police have seized a large arsenal [words indistinct] that, according to authorities, belongs to the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] guerrillas. The deputy Presidency minister went to the site where the weapons were found. He said this kind of incident concerns the government.

The war ended several months ago. However, the Army continues to find weapons belonging to the FMLN. After an operation launched on 31 March, the National Police on 20 May found an arsenal at KM23.5 on the road to La Libertad. AR-15 rockets, as well as fragmentation and high-powdered grenades, were found in a cache of weapons belonging to the guerrillas.

Deputy Presidency Minister Ernesto Altschul said this discovery worries the government because no one knows the intentions of the FMLN.

[Begin Altschul recording] We are concerned over the discovery of these weapons. This makes us wonder how many more caches of weapons these gentlemen may have throughout the country and, above all, what were their intentions in not presenting all the lists of their weapons as the agreements specify. [end recording]

Joaquin Villalobos, one of the most important rebel commanders, reacted immediately:

[Begin Villalobos recording] I think the main problem in this country is the weapons that are being used against the people, which cause deaths, and not the weapons that were found there. I find it suspicious that the government comes up with this story 24 hours after the incident involving a member of the FMLN. I think they are trying to distract the people's attention from this issue, which is more important [words indistinct]. [end recording]

According to the deputy Presidency minister, the discovery of this arsenal shows clearly that the FMLN has not presented its complete inventory of weapons.

Members of the UN Observers for El Salvador [ONUSAL] also went to the site.

[Begin Altschul recording] We have submitted a strong protest to ONUSAL, because we think the list of combatants and weapons must be complete. We have submitted a protest concerning the finding of these weapons, and we will protest any future findings because we must comply with the true spirit of the agreements. [end recording]

After putting two and two together, the deputy presidency minister believes the recent arrest of a body guard of a top rebel leader is related to these weapons because the arrest took place at the same place. Altschul explained that three people were arrested and several M-16 rifles were seized following the operation that began on 31 March.

Guatemala

'Diplomatic Incident' Forced Trip Cancellation

PA2305160292 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 22 May 92 p 11

[By Fernando Morales de la Cruz]

[Text] Recently, the president announced he was canceling his trip to the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, Switzerland. The reason he gave to Guatemalans was that the strong opposition presented by critics

and demagogues had given a negative image to the "necessary" presidential trip.

The official report differs from the true story. According to persons close to the president, the trip was canceled because of a diplomatic incident and not because citizens and the president's detractors opposed the trip.

Last week, the Public Relations Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic published a surprising advertisement in the country's media. The ad said: "The United Nations recognizes and approves of the role of civilian security forces" based on the UN Human Rights Commission Resolution 1992-57.

The ad implied that the UN Human Rights Commission resolution approved the establishment and use of civilian defense forces, which are known in this country as civilian self-defense patrols. This is not true. The main segment of this now famous resolution states a position that is very different to the one hinted at in the Guatemalan Presidency's advertisement.

The surprise of UN officials in Guatemala was enormous when they read the official paid advertisement. They almost could not believe the Guatemalan Government was capable of such an error. To cite UN Resolution 1992-57 out of context and assert that it "recognizes the growing importance of organizing civil defense forces" offends the seriousness of the United Nations and the international community.

The Presidency's paid advertisement prompted a formal protest by the United Nations. The organization sent a written protest to the Guatemalan Government, stating its "surprise and concern over the advertisement" and requesting the entire resolution be published.

The incident was so serious that President Serrano fired his public relations secretary. This action was an attempt to make him solely responsible for such a big mistake. The advertisement, however, was apparently the result of an institutional decision. Its purpose was to justify the official arms buildup policy that is attempting to increase the number of members in the civilian self-defense patrols to approximately 300,000.

The unpleasant incident has made it very difficult for Serrano to visit the UN Human Rights Commission and be received with cordiality in Geneva. This is certainly not going to be easy.

Now, besides having to wait for President Serrano to stop being angry at those of us who criticized his trip, we will also have to wait for the United Nations to forget the incident provoked by those people who want to justify militarism and the arms buildup at whatever the cost.

Report on URNG Proposal To Attain Peace

PA2205142792 Guatemala City SIGLO VEINTIUNO in Spanish 20 May 92 pp 8, 10

[Report by Mario Antonio Sandoval]

[Text] On 19 May, Monsignor Rodolfo Quezada Toruno, president of the National Reconciliation Commission [CNR], handed out to the various sectors of Honduran society copies of a document submitted by the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity, URNG. The document contains the guerrillas' views on the peace issue. Toruno distributed the document at the CNR headquarters.

In the 29-page document, the URNG says it "made war to achieve peace." It says the points in the document "make up the initial foundation that—through dialogue and discussion with all sectors—will make it possible to achieve a consensus which will become the platform that will make it possible to solve the current crisis."

Several times, President Jorge Serrano publicly stated that the URNG did not want to present a general proposal and he did not know what to do. He did promise to reply within 15 days if he received one. President Serrano received the document directly from the conciliator's hands at the Presidential Palace on Friday 15 May.

The URNG said it has been possible to begin direct negotiations thanks to the Honduran people's desire for peace, the CNR's efforts, President Serrano's political will, and the "determined political struggle" the guerrillas have sustained. The URNG said that obtaining a human rights' agreement that would go into effect immediately is a "substantial element that would give support and viability to the process. The URNG said an agreement "would be proof of a political will to find solutions to the armed conflict."

On the other hand, the URNG claims to be worried about "the peace process' slow and difficult pace." It suggests a restructuring of the negotiations, of the subjects to be discussed during the negotiations, and of the order in which the different points on the agenda should be discussed. The URNG proposes the participation of civilian sectors as observers. However, it should be determined what should be confidential and what should be public knowledge.

The issues the URNG has proposed are: 1) location and resettlement of the population displaced by the conflict; 2) civilian power and participation in public life; 3) identity and rights for Indians; 4) socioeconomic aspects; and 5) constitutional reforms.

The URNG's proposals contained in these five points can be summed up as follows:

Displaced Population

1. Discuss these problems as a whole, starting from the conditions and causes, to establish the specific characteristics of the present situation.

2. Take into account the opinions and positions of those sectors that are affected directly.

3. Implement fully the human rights agreements adopted during the negotiations. This should be a necessary condition to find viable solutions to these problems.

4. Allow the international community to participate to guarantee a true resettlement in accordance with the population's needs.

5. Outline and design projects that contemplate ethnic and economic aspects but that are independent from government authorities in their design and administration.

6. Guarantee that the solution to this problem does not become a demagogic project aimed at destroying the entire negotiations.

7. Guarantee fair and voluntary conditions for the return of refugees in Mexico.

Civilian Power and Citizen Participation in Army

1. Redefine and reestablish constitutional and institutional functions.

2. Agree on size, military strength, and economic resources.

3. Regulate the Army's internal democratization and guarantee the fulfillment of its role in a democratic society.

4. Define functions, objectives, and changes in military intelligence.

5. Place financial institutions and paramilitary institutes under civilian authority and development organizations.

Respect for civilian power:

1. Explain the principles and bases of a real democracy and the rights and obligations of citizens as well as the role and obligations of the other institutions.

2. Promote a national consensus to reject any maneuvers to pressure or undermine civilian power.

3. Acknowledge that political parties and elections are the bases for a real democracy and fully guarantee the participation of the different organizations in civilian society.

4. Strengthen and guarantee the independence of government branches; administer justice expeditiously, efficiently, and impartially; prevent corruption of judges; and redefine Congress' role so its members may gain political and moral authority.

5. Guarantee civilian authorities' full control over internal security and police activities and abolish the Roving Military Police.

6. Strengthen municipal power so it may be decentralized in villages, regions, and municipal governments; and abolish the post of military commissioner as well as the authority granted to land owners and administrators of private and government farms.

Identity of Indian Peoples

1. Respect their language and right to use it, accept the free practice of their religion, and allow them to have access to science and technology.

2. Preserve their historic identity and future development.

3. Accept their political right to have their own representation in all social fields.

4. Restore lands to their legitimate owners and promote economic development programs drafted and managed by the Indians.

Socioeconomic Aspects

Social aspects:

1. Draft educational reform programs to meet the country's needs; promote functional literacy campaigns, including respect and development for Indian culture and language; provide appropriate economic means; strengthen institutions of higher learning; and create more technical and agricultural training institutes.

2. Eliminate the cause of infant mortality, revamp the country's hospital system, and create a public and functional health system for the people with sufficient government funds.

3. Supply the population with enough resources to cover their basic needs, produce basic products at reasonable and fair prices, and complement this with a widespread network of establishments to supply adequate food for the needy. Create incentives for agricultural and industrial food production; reduce the number of middlemen; and create a domestic supply and sales network, with the participation of government, private business, nongovernmental organizations, and popular organizations.

4. Create a program that groups all organizations connected with housing, grant plots of land to build homes, and regulate rental levels without discouraging investment. In the countryside, regulate and establish requirements for the quality of homes that farms should supply for the use of their workers.

Economic Matters

1. Establish laws to regulate agrarian property; take control of vacant or abandoned land; create better living conditions, salaries, and social benefits for workers in the field; and supply land, technical assistance, and credit facilities to peasants and small producers.

2. Review structure, amount, and the possibilities for foreign trade; coordinate it through a center with the participation of various sectors; and encourage exports.

Integrate Guatemala regionally and bilaterally, but with bases that bolster development and benefit local producers.

3. Guarantee foreign investment through clear rules, which make investments mutually advantageous and which comply with the country's laws; fulfill labor benefits; and negotiate with openness and honesty. Bring prestige to the country by eliminating the corruption with which international aid has been handled and guarantee that this aid reaches the intended sectors.

4. Review and modernize, but most of all, effectively collect taxes from the rich with fairness and use these resources to boost the government's domestic economic development.

5. Review and revamp labor legislation and salary policies and guarantee the Labor Ministry's supervisory role.

6. Design industrial development policies according to the country's needs and conditions, taking advantage of its raw materials, the manufacture and transformation of its products, and the domestic and foreign market possibilities. Bolster agroindustry, the export of these high quality products, and take advantage of natural resources to optimize development.

7. Strengthen the small and medium-size businessman and producer, avoid unfair competition, and give state support to these forms of production.

Constitutional Reforms

1. Guarantee the preeminence of society and civilian rule; define the functions of the Army and its fields of action, and empower the president to appoint a civilian defense minister.

2. Broaden and strengthen mechanisms, institutions, treaties, and conventions on human rights, as part of individual rights.

3. Support and safeguard the rights and identity of Indians while at the same time considering the promulgation of laws in this regard as being of national urgency.

4. Redefine the property ownership system, particularly regarding land ownership, so that the concept of property as a social function can become a reality.

5. Formulate and regulate social rights, labor legislation, the right to strike, and the freedom to form labor organizations, based on the need for real social justice.

6. Protect natural resources, the environment, and nature through regulations and institutions that can exercise such vigilance over and above private or institutional interests.

7. Revoke those ordinary constitutional laws, codes, or regulations of any type that are contrary to the spirit and letter of the constitutional reforms.

8. Establish mechanisms for revoking the mandate of any person or dignitary who acts against the people's interests.

9. Clearly establish in the Constitution the basic guidelines for the composition, organization, and functions of the National Police.

10. Guarantee compliance with political agreements on the independence of the three branches of the state.

11. Reform the electoral law so it truly pursues the interests of the citizens, guarantees their freedom to organize and participate in political and electoral activities, legitimizes electoral processes, and ends the fraud and other maneuvers that undermine the people's will. It should guarantee new forms of organization, functions, and attributions of electoral authorities.

Commission To Study Proposal

PA2205144592 Guatemala City EL GRAFICO in Spanish 21 May 92 p 3

[Text] President Jorge Serrano has appointed a support commission to study the URNG [Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity] proposal delivered through Monsignor Rodoldo Quezada Toruno as mediator. Serrano acknowledged the government has received the proposal.

According to Serrano, the purpose of the support commission will be to gather the citizens' views. He added that once Msgr. Quezada publishes the document, there will be reactions from various organizations that, in one way or another, are within the country's legal framework.

Serrano said that, as president, he and his government represent the nation's unity. Therefore, the government will wait a while for reactions, in order to learn the people's opinion regarding the URNG proposal. He added that the commission has a group of advisers who are gathering the people's views in order to reply to the document accordingly.

Serrano said he sincerely believes this is a very important step because the government accepted a proposal on the subject of human rights from the mediator at the same time. In other words, he said, should the rebels also accept the proposal by the end of this week, an agreement could soon be reached on this matter.

This would open the door for an overall proposal on human rights, he concluded.

URNG Denies Responsibility for Bomb Attacks

PA2305044492 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2143 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] San Jose, 22 May (NOTIMEX)—The Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) on 22 May rejected accusations by President Jorge Serrano Elias that it is responsible for the wave of dynamite attacks in Guatemala City.

"The URNG has not been planting bombs and has never resorted to tactical operations for destabilization purposes or to impress anyone," a URNG leader said.

Hector Nuila, a member of the political-diplomatic commission of the URNG who is currently in San Jose, Costa Rica, blamed the Guatemalan Army for the climate of insecurity and destabilization present in the country since late March.

President Serrano said on 18 May that there is "evidence the URNG is responsible" for the climate of instability prevailing in Guatemala.

Constant bomb threats at public places, buildings, stores, and schools in Guatemala City have created a climate of instability in the country, leading the president to admit there is "a big crisis."

According to the president, "the explosive devices are the same as those used by the URNG," but he did not rule out the possibility that drug traffickers could also be involved.

Nuila explained that the "Army high command is making plans for a total war," which "proves there will be a repressive escalation, the effects of which have been known to the public since late March when the bomb threats began."

He said the situation in Guatemala is not new, and based on previous experiences, all repressive escalation is accompanied by "psychological operations," a component of which is a climate of terror.

Nuila said the URNG denies any involvement in destabilizing the Guatemalan capital. He also rejected any implication that he may be involved in drug trafficking.

He described the campaigns to implicate the guerrilla organization in those type of activities as unfair and ill-intentioned.

'War' on Terrorism, Drug Trafficking Launched

PA2305044692 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0041 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Guatemala City, 22 May (NOTIMEX)—On 22 May, National Defense Minister General Jose Domingo Garcia and Government Minister Fernando Hurtado launched an "all-out war" on the terrorism, drug trafficking, and common crime that have created a climate of insecurity in the country.

The military chief said bomb threats have been received in various parts of the country, making it necessary to adopt drastic measures.

He also reported a bomb explosion this afternoon at the Rafael Aqueche School; there were no victims.

"We are going to fight insecurity and terrorism because Guatemala cannot go on living under this kind of pressure," he noted.

Government Minister Hurtado said it was possible the the drug cartels wanted to pressure the authorities against extraditing drug traffickers. He did not rule out that the guerrilla's "share of involvement" in placing the bombs may be meant to pressure the government into "adopting a flexible position at the peace talks."

Nicaragua

More on Issue of Cesar, Kirkpatrick, U.S. Aid

Chamorro, Daniel Ortega Cited

PA2305022592 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 22 May 92 pp 1, 12

[Text] President Violeta Chamorro on 21 May said she believes that the United States and other countries will maintain their aid to Nicaragua despite National Assembly President Alfredo Cesar's remarks.

She added that an article by former U.S. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick "does contain quotes from Cesar."

Chamorro criticized Cesar's attitude and said that "he should think about the matter, because things like this hurt the country."

The president attributed Cesar's actions among U.S. congressmen to the "ego" of the National Assembly president. "You understand," she added.

The U.S. Embassy issued a press communique reporting that the U.S. Congress was advised in early May of the next disbursement of $100 million in economic aid to Nicaragua. Congress has until 26 May to voice formal or informal objections or to request clarifications regarding any doubts it may have on that authorization. The communique adds that "numerous members of Congress are sincerely hoping that democracy will triumph in Nicaragua. However, recent developments have prompted several members to voice their concern."

As part of the consultation process, the U.S. executive branch is doing all it can to assure Congress that all necessary measures have been adopted to guarantee that U.S. aid, in keeping with the pertinent legislation, is effectively used to promote social and economic development in the country for which the aid is authorized, the press note states.

Daniel Ortega, secretary general of the Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN], has said that there are no conditions for the suspension of U.S. disbursements, "although there are bad Nicaraguans" such as Alfredo Cesar.

His behavior is "nothing new," because he is playing the role of CIA agent to "sabotage Nicaragua's efforts to establish a minimum degree of stability."

Cesar is the leader of an extremist group in the National Assembly that wants to remove General Humberto

Ortega from his post of chief of the Sandinist People's Army, the FSLN secretary general said.

Daniel Ortega added that he is convinced the Chamorro administration is trying to strengthen institutional order and will not play the game of extremist groups seeking to destabilize the country.

Meanwhile, Managua Mayor Arnoldo Aleman refrained from commenting on Cesar's attitude, because "as a democrat, I respect other people's opinions."

Gen. Ortega Accuses Cesar

PA2605020692 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1830 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Appearing before a large number of local and foreign reporters, General Humberto Ortega Saavedra, chief of the Sandinist People's Army, charged on 25 May that National Assembly President Alfredo Cesar will shortly begin a visit to Europe to continue his systematic campaign of boycotting economic assistance for the government of President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro. Gen. Ortega affirmed that Cesar is planning to meet with Spanish King Juan Carlos to get his majesty to stop financial assistance to Nicaragua. The top military chief urged Mr. Cesar to lift the obstacles he is placing at the National Assembly to hamper the Chamorro government's actions. He also said the Army, together with the Government Ministry, will continue the operations begun last week to return farms taken over by revueltos [mixed bunch of recontras and recompas] to their legitimate owners.

[Begin Ortega recording] It is very clear to everybody in Nicaragua that Mr. Cesar has been maintaining a Confrontational stance regarding the national reconciliation effort headed by President Chamorro. That is very clear to everybody. That is very clear, and I am clearly saying that Cesar's stance has been critical of this government. Basically, he has maintained a systematic boycott, which may affect the disbursement and economic support that comes from international financial institutions to this government. We know that as part of this policy of pressuring the president, Mr. Cesar has not just gone to make a big fuss in the United States but he is also going to fly to Europe shortly. We learned that he is planning to go to Spain to launch an offensive to hamper financial support for the government of Mrs. Chamorro. We think he must set aside this sort of attitude, as we stated in our brief communique. He must set aside his arrogance; as President Chamorro said, arrogance is ingrained in Mr. Cesar's personality. He should set it aside for the sake of this effort to achieve national reconciliation, which Mrs. Chamorro is overseeing. President Chamorro and Presidency Minister Antonio Lacayo should be allowed to guide the economic plan. It does not matter if the Chamorro government seems to be succeeding directly because of the economic and national reconciliation plans because they constitute a victory for all of Nicaragua. We think that despite that victory Alfredo Cesar will continue with his boycott on his trip to Europe. [end recording]

Commenting on the highly publicized summons by the National Assembly, Ortega said it was illegal and added that President Chamorro will give the appropriate answer to Alfredo Cesar.

[Begin Ortega recording] As for the summons, I want to tell you that we know the president was informed of it. I can tell you that the summons, as well as other topics, are part of the obstacles Cesar has been placing before the National Assembly. We know well that the summons has no legal basis. We think the entire nation understands this situation. In the end, President Chamorro will know how to respond to Alfredo Cesar regarding this illegal action that he is carrying out. [end recording]

Presidency Minister Cited

PA2405160392 Managua Radio Nicaragua Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Presidency Minister Antonio Lacayo said on 22 May that there is no evidence the U.S. Government will suspend aid to Nicaragua.

[Begin recording] [Lacayo] It definitely seems—and Mrs. Violeta Chamorro said it clearly—that there are people who would be pleased to see the aid cut off. It is important to point out, however, that there is apparently no such request. AID representatives here have said it. The business attache at the U.S. Embassy said it, too. The president of the Central Bank of Nicaragua [word indistinct] with U.S. Congress commissions on 19 and 20 May and he found signs of deep respect for the economic reforms being implemented in the country. We feel the main problem with the economy was hyperinflation, but it has completely disappeared. This is a fact and [words indistinct] shows that we are making progress in Nicaragua.

[Unidentified Reporter] [Words indistinct]

[Lacayo] Mrs. Violeta Chamorro already said it. I feel she has already spoken out on this. I consider it case closed. When Mrs. Violeta speaks out so clearly, I consider it case closed. There is no room for further comment.

[Reporter] Have you had any contact with people from the U.S. Government and other agencies in charge of approving loans to see if there really is a possibility that aid could be cut off?

[Lacayo] I just explained that. The minister was there this week and there is no negative attitude toward Nicaragua. On the contrary, he found much solidarity with the efforts being made in this country to heal the economy. No one has mentioned any problems.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] 24 U.S. Congressmen sent a letter to the Nicaraguan Government. He did not want to read it because he said it was not up to him to read it since the letter was sent to you. In the letter, the congressmen clearly explain in black and white—he said textually—the reasons why aid could be suspended.

[Lacayo] I did in fact receive that letter, just as we have received numerous letters. It was a letter that clearly talks about the job done by the government. It also points out certain concerns, just as we have our concerns about them. The letter will be answered and everything will remain the same. There is no problem.

[Reporter] Does the letter ask for the dismissal of General Humberto Ortega? Is that true?

[Lacayo] No. Remember that when U.S. Secretary of State James Baker came here, he did not even discuss that topic when he met with Mrs. Violeta. He is the top U.S. Government authority in foreign affairs. Baker, who is the authorized U.S. Government spokesman, actually talked about the need to make economic progress and attract foreign investment. He talked about the professionalism of the public force. We understand those are their main concerns. Those topics that were not discussed mean they were of less interest to Baker.

[Reporter] According to statements made by National Assembly President Alfredo Cesar, Washington is saying Nicaragua has not fulfilled its promises. According to Cesar, you have to say what promises were not fulfilled and what promises were made to Washington.

[Lacayo] It is unfortunate that he has said that when the information, which the National Assembly has requested from the foreign cooperation ministry, has already been sent to the National Assembly. The only commitments this government has made —if we can call them that—to the U.S. Government are ones that have been reached with the AID. They were signed by the foreign cooperation minister. We feel there is [words indistinct] there are no other commitments as far as I know. There are no other commitments. The only commitments are the agreements reached with the AID, which were signed in 1989 and 1990. They were signed by former Foreign Minister Enrique Dreyfus and Dr. Mayorga, at the time. Another agreement was signed in 1991 by the foreign cooperation minister and still another was signed in 1992 [words indistinct]. We have no secrets.

[Reporter] Could the government change its course in the near future with regard to its strategy and tactics in dealing with the Sandinist National Liberation Front and its system of government?

[Lacayo] We feel the government's policies are outlined in the National Opposition Union government program. That is the guideline we have tried to follow as a government and that is the one we will continue to follow until this constitutional period is over. We are trying to promote reconciliation, forge national unity, overcome the crisis in the country, strengthen democracy regardless of party interests, and to strengthen the state of law. Those are the guidelines of this government.

[Reporter] What is the Executive Branch's reaction to the questioning of Gen. Humberto Ortega, which has been called legal by some and illegal by others?

[Lacayo] There is no reaction. We have still not received an official notice from the National Assembly. When we receive it, there will, obviously, be a reaction from the Presidency's legal advisers. President Violeta Chamorro will make the decision in that regard. [end recording]

On another topic, Minister Antonio Lacayo reaffirmed that the Nicaraguan Government will fulfill the commitments it has made to those groups that had rearmed in the past few months. At the same time, the presidency minister warned that those groups or persons who boycott production will wind up in jail.

[Begin recording] [Lacayo] We have stated clearly that concerning the commitments the government has made to the demobilized persons, the parts of the agreement that have not yet been fulfilled, it is very clear that they will be fulfilled, I have said so to each one of the groups that signed agreements with former government minister Hurtado and, now, acting minister Mendieta is determined to fulfill those agreements.

We also told [words indistinct] to a huge delegation of revueltos [mixed group of recontras and recompas] that gathered here [words indistinct].

The government will fulfill its commitments, it is making an effort to try to fulfill by the end of August the parts of these agreements that have not yet been fulfilled.

We see no reason for any persons to use weapons to pressure us to meet these agreements. That would be like reaching an agreement stipulating that we will meet our commitments—some of them even already scheduled—and, after ending the meeting, continuing to discuss the same things that had been decided at the meeting.

The pressure through force of arms to fulfill an agreement, or for any other thing, does not fit in this country any more. Everything has been clearly stated and we feel the best thing we can do is to try to get these fellows with this attitude to understand that they will get nowhere this way, before they wind up confronting the public forces as happened on 22 May in [words indistinct] and in some areas of Chinandega, where they insist on staying armed and wearing uniforms. That is illegal.

[Reporter] What is your opinion with regard to the Labor Code being discussed at the Assembly?

[Lacayo] That should be commented by the labor minister, who is the person who has been appointed by the president for labor affairs.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct]

[Lacayo] No, that is not in the north. It was in Chinandega.

What I know right now is that it is the responsibility of the Government Ministry, police, and Army—if the Army's forces are necessary. I am sure that the message must be received clearly. We are on the eve of the agricultural cycle, we all want production, and we all want that production to generate the jobs we seek. But some insist on blocking the start of production. It is an absurd situation. The main demand of the many unemployed persons in our country is a job. The agricultural cycle is the activity that traditionally generates jobs in our country, but some people block the beginning of the agricultural cycle. We have already told them in the dialogue, and we will continue to tell them, but all those who persist in sabotaging the country's economy will end up behind bars. [end recording]

Foreign Minister Comments

PA2205185592 Managua Sistema Nacional de Television Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Ernesto Leal announced that he saw no signs of a U.S. plan to suspend aid to Nicaragua during a meeting with State Department officials. President Violeta Chamorro and several cabinet ministers rejected the remarks of [National Assembly President] Alfredo Cesar to the effect that aid to Nicaragua should be cut.

[Begin Leal recording] During bilateral meetings with State Department officials in the United States, I saw no signs of a suspension of U.S. aid to Nicaragua, nor of a suspension of aid from other countries. Cooperation with Nicaragua's democracy continues. Nevertheless, it is the Nicaraguan people's duty to begin working on behalf of democracy. They must end the violence, the occupation of highways, and all of those things. [end recording]

Deputy Minister Cited

PA2505235892 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish 22 May 92 pp 1, 12

[By Guillermo Cortes Dominguez]

[Text] Roberto Atha, deputy minister of foreign cooperation, has said that $180.7 million of the 1992 U.S. aid for Nicaragua have yet to be disbursed, but $100 million of that could be disbursed in late May or early June.

The acting foreign cooperation minister (Minister Erwin Krugger is in the United States) noted that the U.S. Congress—the only body that could stop the disbursement—has requested no clarification on or voiced any objections to the Nicaraguan Government. The U.S. Congress still has time to do so before the 26 May deadline; however, Atha noted that the process is "following a normal path." According to the schedule, the remaining $80.7 million would be disbursed in late 1992 or early 1993.

Atha suggested that the controversy over Alfredo Cesar's statements comes at a delicate time. This is the month when the U.S. budget for the next fiscal year that begins in October will be discussed.

The deputy minister said that in Washington in March, prior to a meeting of the Consultative Group, officials of AID and the Departments of State, Treasury, and Agriculture gave the Nicaraguan delegation "a clear message that the aid to Nicaragua would continue."

U.S. aid for Nicaragua in 1993 will be $220 million; however, it will be decreased by no more than 10 percent due to an announced cut in the U.S. budget. Atha explained that program PL-480 (on food donations) would also be cut reportedly due to a drop in the world supply of wheat and oil, caused by the demand for those goods in new Eastern European markets. However, the deputy minister added, Nicaragua would try to gain access to U.S. programs for which it qualifies, including the acquisition of agricultural machinery and inputs through concessionary loans.

Atha said that in the past few days he has been in contact with AID and has heard of no unusual developments. He added that multilateral organizations, such as the World Bank, IDB [Inter-American Development Bank], and IMF, have praised the country's use of foreign cooperation funds. "One of the aspects commented on most positively by the international community has been the honesty in our handling of resources because they have been used in precisely the areas they were assigned to," the deputy minister added.

"Unfortunately, he pointed out, these comments on the use of foreign aid come at a sensitive time; they come at the start of the U.S. electoral campaign, when its budget is being reduced drastically, and when Eastern European countries are demanding greater cooperation.

Commentaries adverse to aid for Nicaragua could delay disbursements and hurt the unemployed because we would not be able to implement our investment plan, Atha said.

However, Atha voiced his confidence that aid for Nicaragua will not be suspended "because of the great credibility and good image that Mrs. Chamorro has before the U.S. executive branch and President Bush's determination to strengthen Nicaragua's democratic process."

Next week Minister Erwin Krugger will visit the World Bank, IDB, IMF, Treasury Department, and AID to clarify any doubts and brief them on Nicaragua's 1993 investment plan.

AID Director to Nicaragua Janet Ballantyne will travel to Washington in the next few days. Atha said this could be an opportunity for her to brief the congressmen on how U.S. funds are invested in Nicaragua. He added, "we have no doubts that AID authorities in Nicaragua are aware of the extraordinary efforts the president has made to comply with donation agreements."

Officials React to Kirkpatrick Article

Minister Mendieta Responds

PA2305171492 Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 21 May 92 p 2

[Text] Government Minister Alfredo Mendieta denied on 20 May that the police were under Sandinist control or that he was a pawn of General Humberto Ortega, commander in chief of the Armed Forces, as Jeane Kirkpatrick, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, has stated.

After a meeting with disabled Army and Nicaraguan Resistance war veterans, Mendieta told LA PRENSA that the police force has never been under the rule of the Sandinist leaders who remain on that force. Thus, Mendieta refuted the statements made by former diplomat Jeane Kirkpatrick in an article published by the U.S. daily newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST.

Kirkpatrick asserted that "the Armed Forces and the police are firmly under the control of the nondemocratic opposition." The former U.S. ambassador also said that Gen. Humberto Ortega performs the job of defense minister and Government Minister Alfredo Mendieta "belongs to the Sandinist National Liberation Front."

When asked by LA PRENSA about such statements, Mendieta smiled and said he was "very surprised" that "such a serious person" as Kirkpatrick, who has kept herself well-informed, could have written an article so out of touch with reality.

Mendieta admitted, however, that he did go into exile. He explained that he left as a Somoza opponent and fought against the dictatorship with Fernando Chamorro Rappaccioli.

"If they say I am a Sandinist for that, then Alfredo Cesar (the president of the National Assembly) is also a Sandinist because he was the secretary of the provisional government junta and the president of the Central Bank during the past administration," he stressed.

Mendieta flatly denied Kirkpatrick's statements saying: "I did not know Humberto Ortega during the war. I met him after taking office as government minister" (6 April 1992).

In her article, Kirkpatrick also states that [former Government Minister] Carlos Hurtado Cabrera was forced to resign because he was working on the development of a professional police force under civilian control.

The new government minister cleared up this matter.

Banks Issue Communique

PA2205235992 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1830 GMT 22 May 92

[Communique issued by the Nicaraguan Bank of Industry and Commerce in Managua on 21 May]

[Text] Regarding the article by Jeane Kirkpatrick published in the 12 May edition of THE WASHINGTON POST, which refers to information supplied to her by National Assembly President Alfredo Cesar about state bank operations, we hereby state:

1. The resources the bank uses to grant credit come from our clients and from financial institutions such as the IMF, which manages various programs from different international sources.

2. The bank grants loans to its customers based on the following criteria: moral responsibility, ability to do business, and ability to pay.

3. The bank is currently collecting overdue accounts accrued over the previous years. It is the present board of director's duty to manage the bank responsibly. The financial institutions continuously exercise their right to see that the resources granted to the Nicaraguan Bank of Industry and Commerce [BANIC] are used properly.

[Signed] Board of directors: Benjamin Lanza, chairman; Jaime Bengoechea, Gerardo Peralta, [name indistinct], Gabriel Vasquez, Henrique Delgadillo, and William Ramirez, directors.

Cesar, Aleman Said To Promote Confrontation

PA2405002592 Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 22 May 92 pp 1, 12

[Text] It appears that Alfredo Cesar, who heads the extreme right of the country, and Mayor Aleman have both decided to take their confrontation with the presidency as far as it will go. There is great concern among different sectors of the country that we may be on the verge of a serious national incident.

Going against an express provision of the Constitution and the Statute of the National Assembly, most rightist legislators approved a motion to summon, that is to try, General Humberto Ortega at the parliament. In addition, the National Assembly welcomed a bill presented by Aleman that ends the popular election of councilmen and elevates the mayor as president of a state within another state. Aleman had the nerve and arrogance to distribute the bill, bound and pasted at the Mayor's Office with the heading: Council of Managua Mayor's Office. In other words, he is taking away the "C" from councilmen, namely municipal administration officials, and turning them into mere advisers of the mayor under the name of council.

Humberto Will Not Go and a Veto Is Expected

EL NUEVO DIARIO could learn that the Presidency of the Republic, adopting the same system as the assembly in interpreting the Constitution, will abrogate the right to decide whether it sends the Army chief or not. It has already decided it will not send him.

Meanwhile, after having admitted that he contributed to the freezing of Washington's aid to Nicaragua, the case

of Cesar has turned into a criminal situation, susceptible to any type of accusation. Consequently, the situation cannot be more serious for the stability of the country, especially after Latin American legislators lost their credibility and the dissolution of the Peruvian parliament was supported by 92 percent of Peruvians.

The Debates

The promoters of this huge confrontation were 47 UNO [National Opposition Union] deputies, who, despite being warned about their mistake of going against the laws of Nicaragua, applied the "overwhelming government majority" to impose the so-called "summons" of Army Chief Gen. Humberto Ortega.

Of the 50 UNO deputies at the plenum, only Ivan Salvador Madriz, Andres Robles, Alejandro Solorzano, and Guillermo Chavarria, members of the center legislative wing, voted against this motion.

After a discussion in which 15 deputies took part, at 1300, the deputies voted on the motion by UNO legislators to "summon" Gen. Ortega. The result of the vote was 47 deputies in favor and 43 against. Thirty-nine FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] deputies voted against this motion.

"I do not see how they are going to make Gen. Ortega come here, unless they tie him up and bring him over," Dr. Juan Gaitan, also a member of the center legislative wing, said (a few minutes after the vote). He did not take part in the vote because he had left the assembly building to look for some documents. However, Gaitan reiterated that he is against the actions of the "overwhelming government majority."

The Property Bill

Dora Maria Tellez, the number two deputy of the Sandinist legislative wing, stated (after the vote) that the UNO sector, which has launched this confrontation, is also trying to include the Property Bill in the debates to cause anxiety among the people. Now, she added, they want to confront the Army and the Presidency of the Republic.

Doctor Sergio Ramirez, Sandinist legislative leader, opened the discussion on the "summons" of Gen. Ortega by explaining why it is juridically and constitutionally wrong to "summon" the Army chief.

Sergio said that "if we seek the pacification and stability of the country by resorting to extremism, we will not contribute to a climate of stability, which the very Armed Forces as a government instrument are legitimately looking for."

Ramirez also said the Constitution does not permit the National Assembly to summon the Army chief. In addition, he referred to Article 138 Paragraph 4 of the Constitution, which states that deputies can only summon ministers, deputy ministers, and directors of autonomous entities.

What Does the Law Say?

Ramirez also mentioned Law 75, which organizes the EPS [Sandinist People's Army] militarily, and its reform (implemented by President Chamorro). It was published in the Government Gazette on 23 February 1990. Article 4 of the law states that "the Army is a permanent institution which fulfills the following duties: The commander-in-chief of the EPS is appointed by the President of the Republic based on proposals received from the Military Council. This position corresponds to the commander with the highest rank as established by the law that creates the positions and military ranks.

"Therefore, the Army is neither an autonomous entity nor a government agency. It is a permanent institution created and regulated by the law. The chief of the Army is neither president nor director of an autonomous entity. His selection is different from that of the directors of autonomous entities."

Dora Maria Tellez, number two Sandinist deputy; Jose Luis Villavicencio; William Ramirez; Julio Marenco; Omar Cabezas; Danilo Aguirre; and Herty Lewites are among other "pro-Sandinist legislators" who uncovered the intentions of the UNO group.

In his speech, Lewites warned that "it is going to bring tension to Nicaragua" (referring to the summons of the Army chief). He cited as an example the newspaper reports on the campaign initiated by Cesar to block the loans to Nicaragua.

Doctor Hernaldo Zuniga; Nicolas Bolanos; Eli Altamirano; Edmundo Castillo Ramirez; Delvis Montiel; Julia Mena; Adolfo Garcia Esquivel; and legislator Moises Hassan, who Alfredo Cesar accounted for as a member of the UNO, spoke on behalf of the sector that wants to promote the confrontation with the executive.

Zuniga brought up the existence of privileges, a definition questioned by many legislators, including Dr. Danilo Aguirre. In his speech, Aguirre urged those who are promoting another confrontation to reflect on the situation. Danilo referred to similar confrontations, such as the case of Peru, in which President Alberto Fujimori acted against a parliament that was doing everything but legislating in that South American country. He explained that the vast majority of the population supported the dissolution of the legislative branch in that country.

The Other Side

The other side of the confrontation was also materialized by the "overwhelming government majority" of the UNO, which welcomed the draft bill presented by Managua Mayor Arnoldo Aleman. Aleman is trying to gain strength by reforming the Municipality Bill and taking away the powers that the voting population granted to the councilmen.

Prior to the vote on the draft bill presented by the mayor that will be sent to the Government and Defense Commission (no law of the country authorizes it to present

bills to the parliament), the Sandinist legislative wing uncovered the mayor's intentions. Aleman even wants to take away from the Supreme Electoral Council [CSE] control over the Civil Registry in order to "obstruct" the process of issuing cedulas [voting cards], something the CSE will begin in October.

Aleman even published his draft bill in a fancy format. This is unconstitutional, because it has not yet been converted into a law. If the "overwhelming government majority" of the UNO passes this draft bill, President Violeta Chamorro will veto it, because it is unconstitutional. If the UNO legislators manage to publish it, the Supreme Court of Justice will declare it illegal.

The vote (to accept the bill by the mayor) was as follows: Forty-seven in favor (only UNO deputies) and 40 against. Among those who voted against this bill are Alejandrio Solorzano, Ivan Salvador Madriz, Juan Gaitan, Andres Robles, the proxy of Alvin Guthrie, and Guillermo Chavarria, members of the center legislative wing.

Mayor Aleman tricked 15 UNO councilmen into signing his bill; they thereby stripped themselves of the power vested upon them by the Municipality Law to replace the mayor.

Cosep President Cited on Meeting With Chamorro

PA2305021692 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1830 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Following a meeting between Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro and Higher Council of Private Enterprise [Cosep] leaders, Cosep President Ramiro Gurdian said on 22 May that Chamorro had told them that she had ordered General Humberto Ortega Saavedra to start enforcing law and order in the country. Referring to property security, Gurdian said the president also promised that law-enforcement authorities were in the process of recovering farms that are in rebel hands.

[Begin recording] [Gurdian] [Words indistinct] in recent weeks, of land takeovers, of those types of problems, the amount of land that has been seized in Jinotega and in Matagalpa. We have also experienced highway takeovers and so forth, [words indistinct].

[Unidentified reporter] What did she say about property?

[Gurdian] She told us that the process of returning property will be rather quick. There will be compensation if the property cannot be returned. That will be done soon. She promised that order will be reestablished. She said she has ordered the Army to maintain order in the country. [Words indistinct] that there is not a productive atmosphere, and [words indistinct] to wage a campaign to give the producers the security they need in the farms.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Gurdian] Yes, we basically discussed the fact that there are not enough [words indistinct] compared to last year, that there is only about 50 percent, and this must be studied [words indistinct].

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Gurdian] I believe order must be established. [passage indistinct] Anything that promotes order in this country is welcome.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Gurdian] That means we have her word. We must now wait for the actions [words indistinct] recovering some estates in Jinotega and Matagalpa. We must wait. Let us hope it will happen.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct] [40-second break in reception]

[Gurdian] [Words indistinct] the information I have is that for the first time, there is some problem with the assistance. Certain things must be clarified, but it is not suspended. That is not the case. I would not like to get into an argument over that with Alfredo Cesar or with the government.

[Reporter] As Cosep president, would you be willing to talk with U.S. Government officials to expedite assistance to Nicaragua?

[Gurdian] We have always maintained the position—including when Daniel Ortega was president—that Cosep does not meddle in problems between the states. [rest of item lost due to 2-minute break in reception] [end recording]

Next OAS Assembly To Be Held in Country

PA2205193892 Managua Sistema Nacional de Television Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 22 May 92

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] Upon returning from the Bahamas, where he attended the OAS General Assembly, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Ernesto Leal explained that Nicaragua obtained several victories. One of them was the Assembly's unanimous election of Nicaragua to host the 23d OAS assembly in 1993.

"It is the first time an OAS assembly will be held in Nicaragua. This means that truly, for the first time, we have an irreversible democratic process, a consolidation of that democratic process, and democracy itself. With the decision to hold its assembly in Nicaragua, the OAS has tacitly expressed support for Nicaragua's new democracy."

The foreign minister announced that the meeting on cooperation between the CARICOM [Caribbean Common Market] and Central America yielded positive results.

"The meeting proved very advantageous for Central America in the areas of cooperation and cultural exchange. As you well know, the development of tourism is intense in the Caribbean. In the very near future, the Caribbean may provide us with technical advice, and we may initiate an exchange of products that will be beneficial for Nicaragua."

One of the important issues for Nicaragua was the report issued at the OAS by the Inter-American Human Rights Commission that visited the country. In its report, the commission admitted that the Nicaraguan Government respects political rights.

"The commission agreed that civilian and political rights have undergone a substantial improvement since the conclusion of the armed conflict and the current government's installation."

Leal announced that the international community will continue to cooperate with Central America, especially Nicaragua.

Panama

Endara Returns From Europe, Describes Visit

PA2405184692 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 24 May 92 p 1

[Report by Elio A. Rujano M.]

[Text] On 23 May Panamanian President Guillermo Endara returned to the country, ending a one-week tour of several European countries. During the tour, which Endara characterized as "positive," he presented Panama's position on the new tariff the EC wants to impose as of 1993 on Latin American banana exports.

Endara traveled through Europe in the company of Rafael Calderon and Rafael Callejas, the presidents of Costa Rica and Honduras, respectively, to back the common Central American position on the quota system that Europe plans to impose on Latin American bananas, one of Panama's main export products.

The president was greeted at Tocumen International Airport at 1915 by members of his cabinet, directors of autonomous entities, and members of the Arnulfist Party, to which Endara belongs.

The cabinet members on hand to welcome Endara included Planning Minister Guillermo Ford, Commerce Minister Roberto Alfaro, Government and Justice Minister Juan Chevalier, Education Minister Marco Alarcon, and Housing Minister Guillermo Quijano.

Endara held a news conference at which he explained the reason for his trip to Europe. He noted that his trip was more a visit than a round of negotiations.

He said: "We went there to present our position. Negotiations are held at the ministerial level."

Endara noted that Europe has a "quota conflict," since some European countries impose quotas and others do not, and there are those that receive bananas from their former colonies, which is the case of the United Kingdom, France, Spain, and Portugal, he said.

Endara explained that countries like Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Belgium, and The Netherlands oppose the proposal that calls for the imposition of banana quotas on Latin America. These countries have no tariff or quota on their banana imports, Endara explained.

Recently, Adolf Eberhart, Germany's ambassador to Panama [name and title as published], said his country is the world's largest consumer of Panamanian bananas. This represents annual sales of 400 million tons of bananas worth approximately $50 million, the diplomat said.

Endara noted that both British Prime Minister John Major and French President Francois Mitterrand have acknowledged the fact that Latin America's bananas are superior to and cost less than others.

Regarding his declining popularity and criticism from various sectors that view his trip as a failure, Endara explained that as president he has to do all he can for the banana workers who would be negatively affected by the quota system.

He said: "What popularity polls say and what suits me politically do not matter." He added: "I have the problem of 17,000 banana workers and if the quota system is established, those workers will be affected."

Panama is not a signatory of the GATT, but GATT principles were mentioned because this agreement prohibits establishing quotas, which is what the European countries want to do, Endara said.

Endara noted: "During our talks we said that we are prepared to have our bananas tagged with a 20 percent tariff because our product is so good and its price is so reasonable that even then we would be able to compete very favorably."

Endara said that his cabinet is in favor of joining GATT. He rejected the possibility of Panama adopting economic reprisals against the Europeans in case they impose the quota system in 1993.

PTJ Director Objects to Court Ruling on Navarro

PA2305230692 Panama City CRITICA LIBRE in Spanish 23 May 92 pp 39, 25

[Report by Justino Gonzalez Jr.]

[Excerpt] Technical Judicial Police [PTJ] Director Jaime Abad stated on 22 May that he disagrees with the recent Supreme Court of Justice ruling declaring the arrest of Erick Navarro illegal. Nevertheless, Mr. Abad said he would abide by the decision.

Mr. Navarro is linked to the recent seizure of weapons stored at the residence of his father, Ruben Navarro, a veteran leader of the Arnulfist Party [PA].

The PTJ director expressed his disagreement with Supreme Court Magistrate Edgardo Molino Mola, who abstained from voting by arguing that it was up to the Supreme Court to decide on the legality of the arrest but not on the purposes for which the weapons had been obtained.

According to the Supreme Court, the arrest had been declared illegal because it was determined that there had been no malicious intent to attempt to destroy the established powers of the state.

Abad pointed out that he would respect the Supreme Court's decision, even though he did not agree with the opinion of Magistrate Molino, who abstained from voting. [passage omitted]

Searches, Seizures Continue

PA2205184592 Panama City EL PANAMA AMERICA in Spanish 22 May 92 p 1A

[Report by Orlando Mendieta C.]

[Text] The Technical Judicial Police (PTJ) has continued an operation involving house searches and more weapons seizures. At the same time, Police Director Jaime Abad pointed out that the ownership of heavy weapons by private citizens will not be allowed.

Although he did not specify when and where the operation has been taking place, Mr. Abad said it is being carried out throughout Panama City and that an RPG-18 rocket launcher and M-60 machine-gun ammunition had been confiscated. It was also learned that an Uzi submachine gun and an AK-47 rifle were also impounded during another operation.

According to Abad, as a result of the recent house searches, two persons directly linked to the purchase and sale of weapons had been arrested. However, he did not disclose the identities of the arrested persons or give any further details related to the continuing operation.

Commenting on the recent order received from the Supreme Court of Justice to release Arnulfist Party leader Eric Navarro, who had been arrested for illegal weapons possession, Abad said he respects the court's decision. Nevertheless, he said he disagreed with several photographs taken after the search of Mr. Navarro's house that showed the inside of the house in complete disorder.

According to Mr. Abad, those photographs were "concocted" because the PTJ units did not leave the house in that condition. He added that he had personally supervised the operation and the way in which the house was searched.

During the past days, PTJ units have undertaken more than five house searches in different parts of Panama City and have been able to confiscate a large number of weapons that were being sold through the black market.

New Items Included in Treaty With El Salvador

PA2505162292 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 25 May 92 p 44

[Report by Elio A. Rujano M.]

[Text] The Panamanian Foreign Trade Institute (IPCE) has announced that following a joint commission meeting on 18 and 19 May, delegations from Panama and El Salvador agreed to include 40 new items in the free trade treaty signed between the two countries.

The Salvadoran delegation was headed by Salvadoran Deputy Economy Minister Jorge Alberto Diaz and the Panamanian delegation by Panamanian Deputy Commerce Minister Ricardo Fabrega.

The IPCE announced that among the products considered for the free trade treaty are fresh shrimp, brake fluid, natural asphalt, plastic sheeting, body parts for dry cargo and refrigerator trucks, and refillable liquor caps [as published].

One of the most contentious products in the negotiations was aluminum which, in the end, was not included among the new exchange products.

El Salvador produces aluminum at a lower cost than Panama and, furthermore, Salvadoran industry is more efficient, said some of the businessmen who participated in the negotiations.

In response to this, a group of Aluminum of Panama employees picketed in front of the lottery building, where the Commerce and Industry Ministry is located.

Government Regulates Public Security Agencies

PA2205151092 Panama City EL PANAMA AMERICA in Spanish 21 May 92 p 12-C

[Article by Orlando Mendieta C.]

[Text] Members of the Public Force and Judicial Technical Police will not be able to participate on their own or through a third party as directors, officials, shareholders, or chiefs of private security agencies, according to an Executive Decree regulating this activity.

This week the national government issued a decree that also specifies the members of these institutions cannot hold administrative or advisory posts in private security agencies. The decree does not make any reference to the presidential security services. It also stipulates that weapons used by private security agencies will be purchased only on the local market and must be registered with the Government and Justice Ministry.

Security agencies must have locally purchased insurance policies to protect and guarantee the lives of their staff members and the property they are guarding.

Likewise, security agencies must cooperate with the Public Force when they are required to do so, under the supervision and coordination of the Public Force, and they must provide the support that is required.

The decree specifies that in the event of internal conflict, a declaration of war, or a national emergency, weapons in the possession of the security agencies will be under the direct control of the Executive Branch, for as long as necessary, by orders of the president of the Republic and the minister of government and justice.

The decree points out that all agencies conducting these activities will have one year to adjust to the decree. All previous measures have been abolished.

Poll on Government Readiness for Canal Management

PA2205131192 Panama City EL PANAMA AMERICA in Spanish 21 May 92 p 1A

[Report by Lucas R. Aleman H. and Ivonne Bruneau on results of a CID/ Gallup poll conducted for EL PANAMA AMERICA]

[Text] Seventy percent of Panamanians do not believe the current government is adequately prepared to manage the Panama Canal by the year 2000, and 92 percent feel that the properties reverted with the implementation of the Torrijos-Carter Treaties are not being properly used, according to a CID/ Gallup poll conducted for EL PANAMA AMERICA.

Out of a total of 1,230 persons interviewed nationwide, 35 percent said the government is not planning properly for Panamanians to handle the administration of the canal; 28 percent believe the government has shown no interest in the subject, while 11 percent said the government has not taken any initiative in this regard. However, 13 percent of those interviewed said the government is preparing the country to assume administration of the canal.

With regard to the handling of properties reverted to Panama, only 8 percent of those interviewed said the government is using them properly; 37 percent said they are being underused, and 35 percent believe that the reverted areas are not being used for the benefit of the country.

As for the possibility of foreign companies investing in the reverted areas, a large percentage of those interviewed feel those investments should be exclusively for Panamanians.

This was the opinion of 46 percent of those interviewed, who said that only Panamanians should invest in those areas, while 32 percent believe in joint national and foreign investments, and 18 percent said more foreign investments should be promoted for the reverted areas.

Brazil

Collor's Psychological Condition Causes Concern

PY2605130092 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 23 May 92 Section 1 p 5

[Report by Gilberto Dimenstein in Brasilia]

[Excerpts] The psychological condition of President Fernando Collor de Mello, 42, is causing concern among his main advisers, including his brother-in-law Marcos Coimbra, who is the secretary general of the Presidency. Following the attack by his youngest brother Pedro Collor, the president has been showing signs of dejection, tiredness, and depression, mixed with explosions of irritation, and is causing concern even among the Planalto Palace medical team.

The atmosphere at Government Palace is extremely uncomfortable and becomes worse according to Collor's mood. Pedro Collor's charges, which were first limited to Paulo Cesar Farias, alias PC, are now directly aimed at the president and include attacks on his private family life. [passage omitted]

The government gained prestige and support following the ministerial reshuffle when officials charged with corruption were dismissed. A new administrative stage was said to have begun under the label of maturity. The corruption charges were then restricted to the government and not to President Collor.

With the wave of charges launched by Pedro Collor, however, the victim is no longer the government or its ministers; it is the president. These attacks are destroying the prestige that was obtained through the ministerial reshuffle and which sought to alter the image of the Collor administration.

This is the reason behind Collor's dejection, which the presidential advisers fear may worsen. In the meeting of governors for childhood, Collor could not hide his dejection. Privately, the president admits feeling betrayed and "abandoned," and, as a result, he is becoming increasingly isolated.

[Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese on 23 May in a similar article adds: "Collor did not appear in public yesterday."]

Collor Releases Letter Denying Brother's Charges

PY2505192092 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 1600 GMT 25 May 92

[Excerpts] The Federal Police received today two requests to open an inquiry into the accusations made by businessman Pedro Collor de Mello, President Fernando Collor's brother.

The accusations involve President Collor, businessman Paulo Cesar Farias, former Minister Zelia Cardoso de Mello, and pilot (Jorge Bandeira de Mello).

Federal Police Director General Amaury Galdino received today two requests asking for an inquiry into the accusations made by Pedro Collor. One request came from Planalto Palace and the other from Attorney General Aristides Junqueira. [passage omitted]

Pedro Collor's lawyer already has an appointment to meet with the attorney general on 9 June, but the Attorney General's Office wants to hear him immediately and to submit evidence. Justice Minister Celio Borja, at the request of President Collor, will ask the Attorney General's Office to charge Pedro Collor of a crime against honor.

This week's issue of the weekly VEJA published an interview with Pedro Collor de Mello, who makes accusations against his brother, President Collor. In the interview Pedro Collor accuses businessman Paulo Cesar Farias, PC, of an illegal accumulation of wealth. He also says that President Fernando Collor is PC's partner in several businesses, such as the purchase of an apartment in Paris worth $2.7 million. Pedro Collor also says that PC is the president's front man. Pedro Collor also revealed that during their youth they used drugs, and that the daily TRIBUNA DE ALAGOAS, which Paulo Cesar Farias wants to publish in Maceio, would really belong to the president.

Planalto Palace released a letter to the nation this morning from President Fernando Collor. President Collor said that he is deeply shocked with the weekend news provided by the unreasonable and false statements made by his brother Pedro Collor. President Collor also says that he has already asked the Attorney General's Office through the Justice Ministry to take action for the damage to his honor and to the Federal Police to investigate this case. President Collor said that if necessary, he will appear before a judge.

President Collor also says: My responsibility as president is and always will be above any friendships, interests, or kinship. No one can say that I lifted a finger to protect or minimize crimes, no matter who is involved. President Collor concluded by saying: The truth will prevail.

Biodiversity, Forests, Climate Issues at Rio-92

PY2605015892 Brasilia Voz do Brasil Network in Portuguese 2200 GMT 25 May 92

[Report by Cristiane Ribeiro from Rio de Janeiro]

[Text] The education minister, who is also the acting environment secretary, said today that Brazil will defend issues linked to biodiversity, forests, and climate during the UN Conference on Environment and Development [UNCED]. In Rio de Janeiro, Minister Jose Goldemberg opened the Rio Science meeting, which is one of the official UNCED events. According to him, Brazil believes these three topics are fundamental for environmental preservation and, for that reason, chose to include them in the official UNCED debates.

[Begin Goldemberg recording, in progress] ...a convention on climate. And Brazil was one of the architects of the agreement reached in New York during the last preparatory conference. Brazil favors the establishment of procedures that could help reduce greenhouse gases. Brazil also favors the creation of a fund that must be administered in an open, democratic manner. This fund, which could be deposited in the World Bank, would finance the necessary activities. This is the first.

The second refers to biodiversity. Brazil favors the adoption of a convention to preserve biodiversity. There are still some disagreements about the issue because the Nairobi conference, during which the convention should have been closed, was not entirely conclusive. Next week, we will try to reach an agreement on the issue. Brazil favors a convention on biodiversity, but wants it to protect the rights of countries such as itself, with one of the largest biodiversity quotas in the world. [end recording]

Minister Goldemberg asserted that during the UNCED, no convention on forests will be signed because Brazil does not favor signing any such convention now, only in the future. According to Goldemberg, the UNCED will draft a document guaranteeing that discussions on all types of forests throughout the world will be opened.

Nuclear Program Frozen; Other Energy Sought

PY2405232892 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 23 May 92 p 5

[By correspondent Mozart de Carvalho]

[Text] Paris—Science and Technology Secretary Helio Jaguaribe yesterday announced that beginning next year, Brazil will again invest in electric energy production. During an interview with O GLOBO, Jaguaribe ruled out the possibility of resuming the nuclear program, which will remain frozen for a 10-year period "until all the safety problems of those power plants are resolved." According to the secretary, the increase in energy demand will be met with the construction of new hydroelectric power plants and exploration for and the importation of natural gas, including the installation of gas pipelines linking our country with Bolivia and Argentina.

The secretary emphasized: "We will complete construction of the Angra-2 power plant, but we established limits to the Brazilian-Argentine nuclear agreement, and we will only resume our atomic energy alternative when it is clean. Obviously, there will be a time when resorting to atomic energy will become inevitable, but until that time arrives...I believe liquid hydrogen is the fuel of the future, but we still do not know its cost."

* Principal Problems Facing Economic Team Viewed

92SM0409A Sao Paulo EXAME in Portuguese 29 Apr 92 pp 18-21

[Text] Marcilio's team has eliminated stridency from the management of the economy—but now it is necessary to show results.

Going from euphoria to depression is a very typical feature of the Brazilian economy. It is what pathologists call cyclothymia. After so many years of disrespect for good sense and attacks on intelligence, as expressed in price freezes, confiscated savings, changed currencies, and unconstitutional taxes, it is reasonable to expect a little collective schizophrenia. Or not as much. The latest changing of the guard at the Ministry of Economy at least served to calm people down in general, thanks to the advent of predictability. That is the big asset brought into the administration by Minister Marcilio Marques Moreira, whose policy might be summed up in the epigraph "Neither shock nor package." Today people are still perspiring a lot, but they are breathing easier. The administration's economic team is giving signs that it is calmer than the previous one, but seven months after inflation passed 20 percent per month—which means nearly 1,000 percent per year—a question is in order. What has happened to the big problems that led to the replacement of Zelia Cardoso de Mello?

Even considering that the muse of the Collor Plan—the plan for confiscation and "ippon" [not futher identified]—was no more than a gigantic mistake, doubt remains as to whether today's economy is very different from the one being managed by the last minister of finance in the previous administration. That was Mailson Ferreira da Nobrega, the architect of the "beans and rice" plan, which consisted of leaving everything the way it was pending the arrival of new tenants. After all, the tax policy is lax, the monetary policy is still passive, wages are again giving signs that they may turn into a time bomb, and even the occupants of political posts in the administration are the same ones who shared power with Jose Sarney. That is what is behind the still embryonic perception of the future of the economy. There is no question that under Collor, the country has moved toward improvement in terms of its broad institutional outlines. What is at issue is the fact that the foundations of the economic edifice are just as precarious as they were in Sarney's time. All one need do is list, in the order of their occurrence, the nightmares tormenting the economic minister and his team:

- To hinder price growth, the decision was made to check demand by adopting a high-interest policy; in the meantime, an attempt was made to negotiate a tax adjustment with Congress that would balance the national budget.
- The first attempt at a tax adjustment, which was part of the emergency tax package adopted at the end of last year, has turned out to be inadequate. If it does not pursue a selective spending policy, the Treasury begins each month in the red.

- Even at that, the Treasury needs to obtain financing in the market. But because there has already been one confiscation and because, moreover, investors do not trust the quality of the index bases being used, the Central Bank is being forced to pay high real interest rates.
- High interest rates attract hot money, and that increases domestic liquidity, a situation that does not fit the monetarist pattern. The problem is that the liquidity is under pressure from the monthly release of frozen new cruzados.
- As though in a kind of chalk circle, the Central Bank is unable to ease up on real interest rates, although it has been adjusting nominal rates to keep pace with inflation, which has dropped from 25 to 20 percent per month.
- A high real interest rate when the budget is balanced with cash means an exponential increase in securities debt. Estimates are that by the end of the year, the securities debt will be the same, in terms of GDP, as in March 1990.
- To complicate matters, there is a wage policy that forces firms, government agencies, and the various levels of government to zero out the effect of inflation on wages of up to three minimum wages every four months. At the current level of inflation, this means doubling payrolls in a single period. To keep the same hierarchical pay differences, the firms end up applying the same rule of minimum-wage adjustment to all their employees. Depending on the importance of wages in a firm's total costs, its overall expenses will double every six or eight months as a result.
- The impact of all that reminds one of what happened in the days of the URP [price reference unit], which was established by former Minister Luiz Carlos Bresser Pereira. Part of the higher cost is reflected in prices, and part of it is recouped by eliminating personnel. Those two reactions are having an especially perverse effect at this particular moment, when inflation is showing signs of picking up speed again and unemployment is reaching dramatic levels. There is a new wage policy covering those who earn up to three minimum wages, but the problem, while alleviated, has not been eliminated.
- As though waiting for Godot, the administration is working on another tax package that is now being touted as a major reform, and it is certainly time. Tax collections are down drastically. They were 14.5 percent lower during the first quarter than they were during the same period last year. The recession is at the root of that tax diet, but it does not explain everything. Considering that it is possible to spread the payment of one's taxes, such as the ICMS [Merchandise Distribution and Services Tax] during the month that it collected, over a period of 60 months with no penalty and with the balance corrected by the TR [Reference Interest Rate], paying taxes immediately has become something done only by the godsons of the old lady of Taubate.
- The result is predictable: The administration will end up requesting a waiver from the International Monetary Fund for its failure to meet the tax goals established in the agreement that was signed at the beginning of this year and that was touted as the diploma testifying to Brazil's return to the club of the world's well-behaved countries.

The Future?

The only thing lacking was an indication by the administration that it might introduce a compulsory loan. That indication is no longer lacking. Minister Marcilio has now acknowledged the possibility of resorting to such a loan as an "extreme solution" for halting the decline in tax collections. "Many things have changed; it is just that we still have the same problems as before," says economist Adroaldo Moura da Silva, former manager of the Bank of Brazil. "What the government lacks is a predictable institutional space in which it can plan the future." The most visible example of the difficulties is the situation with tax collections this year. The tax package adopted in December extended the collection deadlines for several taxes, with the result that two weeks' worth of tax collections have been lost this year. At the same time, lawsuits challenging the collection of taxes are putting a hole in the Treasury's coffers.

The man directly responsible for the federal government's tax collections, Luiz Fernando Wellisch, national secretary of finance, does not conceal the problems. During Easter week, he let off steam while talking to reporters, saying that it was difficult to surmount the avalanche of court decisions undermining the government's tax effort. "It is becoming a lucrative alternative to challenge the tax laws," he complained. There are lawsuits challenging the old Finsocial [Social Investment Fund], the new Finsocial, the daily reference rate applied to income tax, Law No. 8200, and a number of issues related to income tax. The government does not yet have an estimate of the revenue gap created by lawsuits, but an idea can be gained just by looking at what is happening in connection with Finsocial.

According to Roberto Figueiredo Guimaraes, director of the National Treasury, funds in escrow pending the outcome of legal challenges to Finsocial range from $800 million to $1 billion just in the Federal Savings Bank. Only 262 billion cruzeiros were collected for Finsocial in January, and it is estimated that in May, when collection of the tax is scheduled to resume in accordance with the new legislation, that total will rise to 1.5 trillion cruzeiros. At the Federal Revenue Office, however, experts suspect that the legal squabbling is going to continue. Another legal imbroglio of similar proportions involves Law No. 8200, which amended the index base for financial statements to allow companies to compensate for the difference in 1990 taxable income (see the report on Law No. 8200 on page 48 [not included]). According to calculations by the Federal Revenue Office, tax collections lost as a result of the new system may reach $2.7 billion beginning in 1993. The accumulated loss could reach $10.8 billion in four years' time.

Empty Cashbox

The immediate consequence of this situation is that even the scheduled budget funds are not being made available. "We are not releasing money," says the secretary of economic policy, Roberto Macedo. "There are no funds in the cashbox." At the Ministry of Economy, even before the 80 percent increase for civil service workers based on March pay was announced, coffee money had been cut off, as had the funds for lunch vouchers and even transportation vouchers. At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, telephone bills are still being paid late, and the situation is one of penury even in the embassies. The Brazilian mission in Buenos Aires, for example, has reached the point of keeping the lights in some parts of the building turned off permanently because there is absolutely no money for paying the electricity bill.

Even if the IMF overlooks Brazil's failure to meet its goals for the first quarter, the problem of lost tax revenues will persist. "The fact is that the tax goals for 1992 were too moderate," writes economist Francisco Lopes in the economic bulletin published by Macrometrica, his consulting firm. According to Lopes's calculations, tax collections are at a level below that existed before the Collor Plan. Lower revenues have also caused a decline in the Treasury surplus, and this increases the need for financing from the Central Bank.

Since it lacks sufficient tax revenues and is unable to adequately reduce its spending, the administration's only alternative is to issue government securities on the market. In March alone, the federal securities debt increased over the previous month by 5.1 trillion cruzeiros in real terms. If we calculate the interest paid during the first quarter, we find that the real cost of the outstanding balance in securities debt held by the market totals $3.3 billion. That situation can be gotten around in the short-term, but persisting with this policy of indebtedness in the medium- and long-term is a matter for concern. "The government does not have an adequate cash surplus with which to cover those interest payments," says Adroaldo.

Actually, the government is trading its debt in new cruzados and its foreign debt for Central Bank securities and paying high interest rates. But it does not consider the situation risky. "Indebtedness should start dropping significantly beginning in May," says the head of the Central Bank's Economic Department, Carlos Eduardo de Freitas. "More than 75 percent of the new cruzados have already been released, and the accumulation of reserves is reaching its climax. All indications are that the reserves will not continue to grow, as has been the case until now." In Freitas's opinion, the figures relative to the securities debt are impressive, but they are not jeopardizing the goals agreed on with the IMF. He says: "The growth in the debt has been significant, but it started from a very small base."

Red Cream

What really upsets things is the drop in tax collections, a problem that is occurring at a crucial time from the standpoint of Minister Marcilio's policy for combating inflation. The administration was hoping for a further drop in the rate of price increases, but the available data show that the index as measured by the FIPE [Economic Research Institute Foundation] in Sao Paulo will probably stand at around 23 percent in April. Moreover, the impression that inflation may return to something like 25 percent per month in May is also beginning to take hold in large Sao Paulo firms.

Fortunately, that is still just an impression. It is known, however, that most business sectors are working with costs higher than their sales prices, meaning that any recovery in consumption, no matter how small, will probably be reflected in a concomitant rise in the rate of inflation. Politically, nothing could be more disastrous than the reappearance of inflation. The stability of the economy itself would be at stake. Based on the previous course of inflation, however, it would be foolhardy for any administrator to disregard that possibility, especially when working with a scenario in which no one is having an easy time. It is estimated that nearly two-thirds of the open-capital companies ended 1991 in the red. And remember, they constitute the cream of Brazilian capitalism.

In the face of that unfavorable situation, Marcilio and his team have been doing everything they can to prevent inflation from getting out of control. To keep it in check, the government has not hesitated to adopt an unorthodox trick in its new wage policy, which has now been sent to Congress. In announcing the wage updating factor [FAS] that will be used to calculate increases for those earning up to three minimum wages, the government is trying to disarm the booby-trap created by the previous system. Under the proposed new system, the FAS will be corrected according to an index of its own, as calculated by the IBGE [Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics], that will take into account the trend in inflation at the end of every four months. That way, if inflation is declining, wage correction will follow that same trend. "If inflation goes up, the FAS will also go up," says Macedo. "We are accepting that risk." It remains to be seen whether that system will be approved by Congress and whether the firms will then restrict its implementation to only those people earning up to three minimum wages.

With luck, the administration will continue to manage its day-to-day affairs pending congressional approval of the tax reform it intends to submit at the beginning of the second half of this year. "That will be the real test for stabilization of the economy," says Francisco Gros, president of the Central Bank. "Then we will know whether society is really willing to halt inflation." So in fact, everything will depend on the good will of Congress in approving the proposed reforms and on the administration's ability to put together a majority in the legislative branch. The Cabinet reshuffle in April was a first

step in that direction, because it strengthened President Collor's ties with his party base in Congress. It will be a few months, however, before we know whether that reshuffle was sufficient to guarantee approval of the administration's bills. That approval is essential to Marcilio's survival. Marcilio is the only minister who gets a monthly report card: the inflation rate. Good grades can make him a hero, but poor grades will finish him off—despite his acclaimed good-naturedness.

Why Brazil Is not Functioning

According to the analysis presented by former Minister Mario Henrique Simonsen in an article appearing in this issue [not included], here are some of the problems that are leading the country to the verge of ungovernability.

- Because all financial assets are indexed, the banks draw money from the bank reserve, and this is the main reason for the growth in the monetary base. It means that the golden rule of monetarism cannot apply to Brazil unless the Central Bank fails to do its job.
- The cruzeiro is a legal currency by law, but not by fact. As a unit of accounting, the cruzeiro means nothing and measures nothing. It has even disappeared from official statements and private budgets. Public investments and tax revenues, for example, are reported in dollars. The dollar has been adopted by consensus as the unit of purchasing power.
- The tax system has gotten so complicated that nobody understands it. That is the main problem.
- The spoils system reflected in the race for second-echelon positions following the cabinet reshuffle reveals an error, not on the part of the politicians, but on the part of a manner of governing that treats public administration like a lottery, to the detriment of the efficiency that would result from appointing professionals to the positions in question.

Clearing out Auto Inventories

It is by no means a giveaway price. But buying a fully equipped Versailles Ghia for 72 million cruzeiros became a bargain just recently. The agreement between manufacturers and the government, which was signed on 27 March and led to a 22 percent drop in automobile prices, made it possible for the consumer to receive a 20-million-cruzeiro discount on that model. With the difference, one could drive off in an Escort, a car that was being sold for 20 million cruzeiros before the Holy Week vacation. From that standpoint, the agreement was a success: the manufacturers and the dealer network were able to sell about 40,000 cars in 12 days and thus clear out their inventories. But the manufacturers, under pressure from rising production costs, knew that the festival of deals could not continue and that sales would again slow to a crawl.

Because of that, Autolatina—which raised its prices by 20.8 percent just before Tiradentes Day—and GM have scheduled cutbacks in production. Both firms intend to adapt to a slower pace in the market following the new price increases. Autolatina has decided to halt production for 23 days at its Taboao plant in Sao Bernardo do Campo, where some of its models in the mid-price range—Escort, Verona, and Apollo—are produced. GM is going to cut production by 40 percent. The firm claims that increased sales by dealers were not enough to reduce inventories and normalize production. Of the 12,000 cars it had in its yards, 6,000 remained after 10 days of promotion. In that respect, Autolatina had better luck. It had 22,000 automobiles in its yards before the agreement to lower prices was reached. It managed to reduce that number to less than 5,000.

"There was more demand for the sophisticated cars," says Miguel Jorge, Autolatina's vice president for corporate affairs. Now, because of the shutdown at the unit where those cars are produced, it is feared that there will be a shortage. "There may be no cars," says Octavio Vallejo, manager of Sandrecar, which sells Ford vehicles in Santo Andre in Sao Paulo's ABC area [the industrial area of Santo Andre, Sao Bernardo do Campo, and Sao Caetano do Sul]. Days before the Easter holiday, with all the dealers experiencing a boom in sales, a few Escort and Versailles models began to grow scarce. It happened that in addition to the 22 percent discount, many dealers were granting additional discounts that increased the purchaser's savings by another 5 to 10 percent. That was the case at the Santo Amaro Vehicle Company in Sao Paulo. "We were selling at a nonstop pace," says Carlos Eduardo Marques, Santo Amaro's sales manager. Some were even financing automobile purchases. Sandrecar, for example, was selling cars in April for 60 percent down and the rest in four payments with no interest or monetary correction. It remains to be seen whether the dealers will be able to retain their ability to attract customers when the new prices take effect.

Chile

Pinochet Receives Pacemaker; in 'Complete Charge'

PY2505022692 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Imagen Internacional in Spanish 0000 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Army Commander Augusto Pinochet today was released from the Military Hospital, where he was fitted with a pacemaker. General Pinochet is scheduled to resume his activities gradually.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] The Army commander, who was in the company of the security guards who usually escort him, left the Military Hospital today at 1130.

[Reporter] How are you, General? How do you feel?

[Pinochet, waving and shouting to the crowd as he leaves the hospital] Very well.

[Reporter] Pinochet's doctors stated that he has responded very well. They added, however, that like any patient in his condition, he will need some rest before his full recovery.

[Dr. Domingo Godoy] His physical condition probably will allow him to resume his normal activities much sooner than it would take other people.

[Reporter] Will he have to undergo periodic checkups? Will he have to undergo any special treatment?

[Godoy] I believe that he will carry out a completely normal life and that the pacemaker will not alter his normal activities.

[Reporter] Will Pinochet resume his activities on 25 May?

[Army Deputy Commander Jorge Lucar] It is important to note that he is in complete charge.

[Reporter] There were reports stating that you have been appointed acting Army commander.

[Lucar] No, I am not acting Army commander. Gen. Pinochet is in complete charge, like anyone suffering from a minor medical problem. He is in complete charge.

[Reporter] Gen. Pinochet underwent heart surgery on 21 May. The pacemaker will help Pinochet overcome the arrhythmia for which he was hospitalized three weeks ago. [end recording]

Amendment of Armed Forces Law Viewed

PY2205172492 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Imagen Internacional in Spanish 0000 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] Edgardo Boeninger, minister secretary general of the Presidency, has stated that General Jorge Ballerino is making a big mistake by denying that the former military government and the democratic government reached an agreement to amend the Armed Forces' organization law.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] The government wishes to recover the president of the Republic's prerogative to retire or promote officers, which is currently banned by the Armed Forces' law. Authorities of the present government maintain that the proposal for this amendment was approved by members of the military government. The verbal agreement was reached during negotiations that preceded the handing over of the government in 1990. Yesterday, however, Gen. Ballerino, who at that time was secretary general of the Presidency, denied the existence of said agreement. He said:

[Ballerino, in progress] ...no agreement was reached regarding this subject. I told the president about the role we played at the time in order to clarify some points regarding this issue.

[Reporter] Edgardo Boeninger, current secretary general of the Presidency who in 1990 headed the negotiations on behalf of the elected government, today insisted that although the agreement was not put down in writing, the military government officials at that time agreed to amend the Armed Forces' law.

[Boeninger] All the press reports of that time clearly back what we have stated. Those reports carry the statement of leaders of various parties that currently represent the opposition, and there are editorials. Everyone took it for granted that an agreement was reached although it was not put down in writing and everyone regretted the fact.

[Reporter] Does this mean they are lying?

[Boeninger] No. I cannot say anybody is lying. I think they have a different memory and that they are mistaken. People can be mistaken but this does mean they are lying. I am certainly not accusing anybody of lying. I just think they are mistaken. I also believe that Gen. Ballerino might have informed the president about what he recalls and I also think this is perfectly normal and legitimate. But this does not mean I am not going to say that he is mistaken. [end recording]

Shining Path Supporters Claim Attack on Embassy

PY2205203292 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1956 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Santiago, 22 May (EFE)—Police sources reported today that the Peruvian Embassy in Santiago was attacked last night when several individuals fired machine-gun bursts at the embassy from a passing car; there were no victims.

The sources reported that the attack took place at about midnight on 21 May during the changing of the Carabineros (military police) guard that normally guards the embassy, which is on Andres Bello Avenue, La Providencia District.

The shots hit the embassy's guard booth and car entrance gate. The attackers quickly escaped.

Afterward, in a telephone call to a news agency, an unidentified man attributed the attack to the unknown "Chilean Committee of Support for the Peruvian Revolution," and he sent greetings "to the struggle carried out by the Shining Path."

The anonymous call also said that the attack, "which will be followed by others" was a sign of repudiation of "the wait and see attitude" adopted by the Chilean Government in the face of the "self coup" staged by President Alberto Fujimori.

Border Patrolled To Keep Out Shining Path

PY2605015092 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] The Chilean Government has adopted the necessary measures to prevent members of the Peruvian

Shining Path terrorist group from coming into Chile. This information was disclosed by Foreign Minister Enrique Silva Cimma while commenting on threats from alleged Shining Path members received by businessmen in northern Chile. Silva Cimma said that the borders have been patrolled since the self-inflicted coup took place in the neighboring country on 5 April.

[Begin recording] We have taken all measures justified under circumstances such as those that took place in Peru precisely to avoid the presence of undesirable individuals in our country as a result of the possible persecution of Shining Path members in Peru. [end recording]

Silva Cimma added that it remains to be determined whether the threats are actually being made by the Shining Path or by common criminals. He also pointed out that the safety measures are being coordinated by the Interior Ministry, through the Carabineros.

Colombia

Former House Representative President Released

PA2405024992 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0030 GMT 24 May 92

[Report by Edgar Sanchez—passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] We have an exclusive report on the release of former House of Representatives President Norberto Morales Ballesteros.

[Morales] "Few thoughts did not cross my mind. I believe I thought a lot about death. I was very close to death."

Morales, who was kidnapped by the Ramon Gilberto Zambrano Barbosa Front of the Popular Liberation Front, EPL, on 3 March, was turned over to a commission formed by church and human rights authorities in Santander.

[Morales] "I am not used to this type of situation, with the unfavorable terrain, in the middle of the jungle, and having to walk. It is not easy to go through such an experience at my age."

Although the long journey had tired him, Morales said he favored regional dialogues with the guerrillas and regretted the death of former conservative minister Argelino Duran Quintero, who died when he was held by an EPL front in the Ocana Province.

[Morales] "It was an unfortunate case, which also complicated my situation. Many things happened to delay my release."

When an EPL captain formally turn Morales over to the commission, he charged Morales with mismanagement of the national treasury and with promoting paramilitary groups in the Santander region. The liberal politician emphatically and courageously denied these charges.

[Morales] "I have never financed paramilitary groups and I was never told anything about this.

[Unidentified reporter] "What are you going to do now?

[Morales] "I will rest and perhaps write a book. However, I must ask my friends here to return the diary I wrote with details of my experience. I gave it to them yesterday but do not know if they will return it."

With Norberto Morales Ballesteros's release, the guerrillas in the southern Cesar department trust that the talks with the Colombian Government will resume in Mexico.

Officials Discuss Disappearance of FARC Leader

PA2405021592 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0030 GMT 24 May 92

[Report by Francisco Javier Diaz]

[Text] Military sources, who asked to remain anonymous, told the "TV Today" newscast on 23 May that Manuel Marulanda Velez, alias Tirofijo, reportedly died somewhere in El Pato or Guayabero, in southern Colombia. They added that Marulanda last contacted all fronts of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia [FARC] on 12 May to give them instructions and comment on the recess in the peace talks with the government. However, they pointed out that in over 11 days no one has heard or seen him, neither the FARC fronts nor the soldiers. The military sources said Tirofijo has always contacted his fronts on a daily basis. In the past, contact with Manuel Marulanda was never lost for more than three days.

Moreover, the military leaders believe that this loss of communications is similar to the one that occurred when [FARC founder and ideologue] Jacobo Arenas died. However, if Tirofijo is not dead, he has reportedly fled. The military cordon and operations in Guayabero have intensified and there are daily clashes.

The last that was known of Manuel Marulanda is that he had a prostate ailment and was having difficulty walking. This suggests a third hypothesis: That Tirofijo was taken out of the area or the country to receive medical treatment. The pilots of the AEROTACA plane, which was hijacked eight days ago, were reportedly used in this operation. Top military leaders so far have maintained total secrecy on this issue.

Defense Ministry Reports 'Heavy Combat' at Uraba

PA2505174592 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 1630 GMT 25 May 92

[Interview with Colonel Gustavo Mantilla, Army chief of information and press, by reporter Marcela Duran at the Defense Ministry in Santa Fe de Bogota—live]

[Text] [Duran] The Army has just issued a communique in which it explains the events that took place this past weekend in Dabeiba, Antioquia Department. We are speaking with Colonel Gustavo Mantilla, Army chief of information and press. Col. Mantilla: What does the communique say?

[Mantilla] The communique reads as follows: The Army Command hereby informs the nation that through intelligence activities it was learned that the Simon Bolivar National Guerrilla Coordinating Board [CNGSB] had criminal plans to take over several towns in Uraba, Antioquia, including Dabeiba, and to attack police stations and banks, and to destroy bridges. The purpose of these plans was to isolate Uraba, Antioquia Department, from the rest of the country, disrupt the normal development of the region's economic activities, and upset public order throughout the country. To carry out these activities, the CNGSB brought together in that area the 5th and 34th fronts of the Revolutionary Army Forces of Colombia and a faction of the National Liberation Army.

[Duran] What is the current situation in the area?

[Mantilla] Right now in Uraba, Antioquia, military units continue to wage heavy combat with the CNGSB criminals.

[Duran] Has it been possible to determine the number of rebel casualties?

[Mantilla] So far, it has not been possible to establish the number of casualties, because the troops have not yet reached the critical area. Once this information is available, it will be made public.

[Duran] It has been said that bad weather has hindered the continuation of the operations. Is this right?

[Mantilla] Unfortunately for the Army troops and fortunately for the criminals, bad weather in the Uraba area has prevented reinforcements from arriving by air so that the situation in the area can be controlled.

[Duran] Thank you, colonel, for this official information from the Defense Ministry.

Casualties Reported in Clash

PA2505150292 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0000 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Hopes for peace are fading. On 24 May the Army and the guerrillas waged the most bitter fighting in recent weeks. There is a war going on in six of the country's departments. Antioquia and Cauca are the departments most affected by the fighting. The Army is using air and land forces to fight four FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] fronts in Dabeiba, Antioquia.

Initial official reports indicate that in Dabeiba 13 soldiers died: a lieutenant, one noncommissioned officer and 11 infantrymen. Fourteen soldiers were wounded and an undetermined number of guerrillas died.

The five FARC fronts fighting the Army have requested Red Cross units to care for their wounded. A curfew and dry law have been established in Dabeiba. This is a war zone right now, according to an official statement.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified Speaker] We can hear all sort of weapons being fired.

[Unidentified Reporter] Is there any bombing?

[Speaker] We have heard bombing, too.

[Reporter] How many planes?

[Speaker] We have seen three.

[Reporter] Helicopters?

[Speaker] We have seen one. [end recording]

Two Air Force A-37 planes bombed a rural area known as La Llorona, in the Dabeiba zone. Guerrillas had set up five posts blocking the road to Uraba. Two armed helicopters are supporting land military operations.

The rebels have dynamited two bridges, cutting Uraba's access to the rest of the country. It has not yet been possible to evacuate from the region several wounded men or the bodies.

At Santa Fe de Bogota's Central Military Hospital two surgery rooms and emergency equipment are ready to receive the wounded arriving from the combat zones.

What is happening right now reportedly is just the beginning of a big guerrilla offensive ordered by the FARC Secretariat on all its fronts. The rebels say this is their answer to Army operations in Uribe, in particular.

The Army has monitored a guerrilla message and transcribed it into a secret document, to which this news program had access. In it, the FARC Secretariat tells guerrillas throughout the country the following: We cannot keep our arms folded. They have declared war on us and it is not fair that while we are seeking a political way out of the conflict, they intensify their war operations against us throughout the country.

The document orders that military forces be attacked. It states: We have to seek and pursue them, not just wait for them to attack. We are going to attack them wherever we find them so that they see how it feels.

The FARC Secretariat ordered that military counterintelligence operations in the urban areas be checked. The document states: You must remain alert to prevent the penetration of people who are not from the region.

The document says that in the region are persons who were hired and who are being paid by the Army to inform on rebel activities. The document cautions about patrol operations along the oil pipelines.

This news program has had access to other documents that report that guerrilla fronts operating in Caqueta

Department are cautioning peasants to prepare to endure upcoming military operations.

In Quito, Ecuador, a man was arrested in possession of a video cassette and a plan to carry out an attack in Putumayo, where a guerrilla group would attack the Damasco Military Post and harass the La Hormiga Military Base, in San Miguel and Orito, Putumayo. Another group would attack the Villa Garzon Military Base and another would attack the Mirador Military Base, Sibundoy.

The guerrillas have plans to establish check points along the Puerto Asis to Mocoa Road and to organize a transportation strike in the entire Putumayo region and a peasant march on Mocoa.

AD/M-19 Declares Emergency, Demands Amnesty

PA2205150992 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 2300 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] Leaders of the 19 April Movement Democratic Alliance, AD/M-19, are facing more accusations. First, a faceless judge [judge who is identified by number instead of name for security reasons] filed an indictment in the case of the occupation of the Justice Palace. Now, the legal process has been reopened in the case of the kidnapping and murder of Jose Raquel Mercado, president of the CTC [Confederation of Colombian Workers] in 1976.

The AD/M-19 urged its militants to be alert in facing what they described as disreputable forces attempting to destabilize the peace process.

On 21 May, the AD/M-19 leaders decided to concentrate all its leaders who have been called to trial in one place, to prevent individual arrests and possible disappearances. During a meeting that lasted several hours, a new commission of lawyers was appointed to investigate the status of the legal process in the murder of labor leader Jose Raquel Mercado, an incident that occurred 17 years ago.

In addition, the AD/M-19 leaders said there are disreputable interests attempting to dig out from beyond the grave all the actions carried out during a decade of armed struggle.

Here is what AD/M-19 leader Gerardo Ardila said:

[Begin Ardila recording] Just as we rejected the indictment filed by a faceless judge in the case of the Justice Palace, we also reject the action by the judge who is trying to resurrect the case of Jose Raquel Mercado and all those cases that will make us remember the sad history the country has lived through in the past few years. [end recording]

According to the AD/M-19, the policy of amnesty, pardon, and forgiveness is faulty. Therefore, Antonio Navarro Wolff declared a state of emergency within the organization and convoked a national plenum to demand from the government a real commitment for peace.

[Begin Navarro Wolff recording] We are going to propose a general amnesty law [ley de punto final] for those of us who were involved in the conflict as members of organizations that have already signed peace agreements with the government. That law should protect all those who at one time or another were involved in the conflict. [end recording]

The AD/M-19 believes that the government is responsible for the predicament they are currently facing because it allowed political decisions to fall in the hands of judges.

Attorney General Comments

PA2305131292 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 2300 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] On 22 May, Attorney General Carlos Gustavo Arrieta replied to a letter from President Cesar Gaviria asking for advice on the situation created by a faceless judge's [identified by number instead of name for security purposes] indictment of 31 members of the 19 April Movement Democratic Alliance [AD/M-19]. The attorney general said the Constitution and the law cannot be used as instruments to promote retaliations that neither society nor the institutions need.

In his reply, the attorney general urged waiting with moderation for the final ruling of the public order superior court. The attorney general announced he will honor the political exoneration by the Chamber of Representatives of former President Betancur's conduct and will abide by the ruling of the superior military tribunal in the case of General Arias Cabrales.

Official Says Health Minister To Resign

PA2405025092 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0030 GMT 24 May 92

[Text] Health Minister Camilo Gonzalez Posso will definitely resign. Antonio Navarro Wolff, leader of the 19 April Movement Democratic Alliance [AD/M-19], confirmed this at the conclusion of a national AD/M-19 assembly held in Santa Fe de Bogota.

The AD/M-19 decided to continue participating in the government of President Cesar Gaviria. The regional delegates and national leaders of the group announced they will remain in the government as long as the president respects the following conditions:

[Begin Navarro recording] Firm support for the peace agreements signed two years ago, a bigger budget for social projects, and the possibility of having complete independence of opinion on the economic issues with which we disagree. [end recording]

It was decided to readjust political relations between the government and the AD/M-19 and to replace Health Minister Camilo Gonzalez Posso, who will resign next week.

[Begin Navarro recording] The health minister has said he wants to resign. That will give him the authority to recommend the continuity of another AD/M-19 member in the government. [end recording]

Just as the AD/M-19 decided to remain in the government, it also reiterated its criticisms of the government's economic reforms and of what the AD/M-19 calls a weakness in the social programs of Gaviria's administration.

Foreign Trade Minister Moved to Finance Ministry

PA2505161092 Santa Fe de Bogota EL NUEVO SIGLO in Spanish 21 May 92 p7a

[Text] Juan Manuel Santos will be transferred from the Foreign Trade Ministry to the Ministry of Finance and Public Credit. This is what President Gaviria wants.

The possibility of being transferred to the Ministry of Finance and Public Credit has possibly had some influence on the decision by Santos to put his presidential aspirations on hold. And what will happen to Herr Rudolf Hommes?

* Job Opportunities for Ex-Combatants Described

92SM0394A Bogota CROMOS in Spanish 13 Apr 92 p 16

[Interview with John Gomez Restrepo, director of the Guerrilla Reintegration Program; place and date not given]

[Text] He could be content to sit back and oversee his country estate, read, converse, go horseback riding, do nothing but rest, or think up a new company. But John Gomez Restrepo has chosen the path of the gadfly, of challenge, races, and risk. A successful businessman with more than 30 businesses to his credit, this 75-year-old Paisa has now moved on to the position of director of the Program for the Reintegration of Guerrillas Into Civilian Life. No longer does he deal with bankers or managers, but rather, men ready to begin a new life after years in the mountains, men who have had "alternative life styles" in the city, men who have lived isolated, either mounting attacks or enduring persecution, more acquainted with death than life. Gomez is now responsible for demonstrating, through concrete action, the benefits of peace.

[Rodriguez] You got out of business and said "Yes."

[Gomez] The country's fate depends on peace. The obstacle of violence prevents its speedy development. Peace would bring a wave of optimism.

[Rodriguez] What do you propose?

[Gomez] One cannot guarantee that all the businesses of those reintegrated will succeed. It is true that most of the projects are failures. The market is no exception, and we have to be efficient. We shall seek new options, such as reforestation, because paper production is a business with a fixed, growing yield. Then there are fruit and juice exports and shrimp. In Uraba, they are in the process of buying banana plantations because we would like former combatants to be confronted with the problems of production and become acquainted with the multiple aspects of a business. In Quibdo, they will produce drinking water by more economic means than the conventional ones. There will be worm farms that sell the fertilizer they produce for 400 pesos a kilo. A garbage recycling project is on the way, and the main mayors have been brought into it. We have asked them for garbage and land to form cooperatives. Used paper will be the material for making tile, trays, and crates for fruit exports. They will produce railings for highways, desks for schools, and cups made from waste plastic.

[Rodriguez] What about the forest rangers?

[Gomez] Reforestation will create new jobs: forestry guards, similar to forest rangers, a suitable type of rural work for former guerrillas.

[Rodriguez] What about silver?

[Gomez] I am not in the habit of criticizing the past, but an office set up in February 1991 did not get its funds until eight months later. We handle 2 million pesos directly as a loan for every former combatant and have already spent a large portion of the 9 billion allocated to us. We handle health problems with absolute priority. The Office of Reintegration has not yet received fresh resources from the 16 billion allocated to the peace fund.

[Rodriguez] How will you win friends?

[Gomez] I have been in office for barely a month and have made no official proposals to industrialists because the problem is not of that magnitude. Of the 3,200 persons demobilized, 60 to 70 percent are already economically active, and we can find occupations for the rest in 90 days. I am sure that as soon as there is any possibility of a settlement with the FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] and the ELN [Army of National Liberation], the private sector will open its doors.

[Rodriguez] There will be an avalanche if peace occurs.

[Gomez] The government has established the premise that the first thing is to put an end to violent actions. The issue of reintegration will be discussed immediately thereafter, and the government will have to guarantee the demobilized combatants that they will find a place in the economic life of the nation. There are projects that guarantee the jobs to absorb these 10,000 or 12,000 men. Naturally, it will then be necessary to call on the private sector, which would have to place 10,000 men in a country with an industrial sector that numbers 500,000,

but I see no problem in this. Along with INCORA [Colombian Institute of Agrarian Reform], whose files hold applications for 18,000 hectares to be used in more than 100 projects included in this process, we are trying to find faster procedures. Uraba will have to open up its productive doors to over 500 reintegrated combatants currently unemployed in that region.

[Rodriguez] What about mental adjustments?

[Gomez] Those who dreamed of and sincerely devoted themselves to the fight, who found that it was sterile and were unable to put an economic system in place that was any better are tremendously disappointed. The concept of the guilt of the capitalist system persists, and it is very difficult to get rid of it overnight. In the final analysis, convincing an individual to go back on the concepts he has come to hold is not easy. It is like falling out of love with a woman one has loved very much.

Paraguay

Ex-Police Officers Sentenced in Torture Case

PY2505020992 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 22 May 92 p 59

[Excerpt] Pastor Milciades Coronel, former Investigations Department chief, and Camilo Almada Morel, alias "Sapriza;" Juan Martinez; and Lucilo Benitez, former Investigations Department officers, all of whom served during the past regime, will remain in prison until the year 2014.

This morning Second Lower Criminal Court Judge Dr. Luis Maria Benitez Riera sentenced these individuals to 25 years in prison; they were found guilty of torturing teacher Mario Schaerer Prono to death in the Investigations Department dungeons during the fierce repression of the 1970's.

The 230-page verdict also involves former Asuncion police chief Francisco Alcibiades Britez Borges, who will remain in prison for five years. He will serve his sentence until 9 March 1995.

According to the judge, although Britez Borges was not directly or morally involved in the killing, he was held responsible for concealing it. [passage omitted]

Rodriguez Appoints, Confirms Army Commanders

PY2305192792 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 20 May 92 p 11

[Summary] On 19 May President Andres Rodriguez appointed Division General Marino Gonzalez Caceres as commander of the 2d Army Corps, based in Villarrica. Gonzalez replaces Division General Mario Rodolfo Escobar Anzoategui.

Through Decree No. 13575 Rodriguez appointed Division General Silvio Rafael Noguera Ramirez as head of the Logistic Command, replacing Gen. Gonzalez.

Through Decree No. 13574 the president confirmed Division General Emilio Osvaldo Balbuena as commander of the 3d Army Corps, and Division General Pedro Concepcion de la Cruz Ocampos as head of the Military Training Institutes Command.

Division General Regis Anibal Romero Espinola was confirmed as chief of the Military Household, and Division General Lino Cesar Oviedo Silva as commander of the 1st Army Corps.

Presidential Candidate Zapag Views Platform

PY2305183492 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 22 May 92 p 5

[Text] In a meeting held on 21 May when he presented the "political program" to be implemented if he is elected, Abraham Zapag—National Alliance presidential candidate for the 1993 elections—said the reduction of the state apparatus and the privatization of some public companies are a priority.

The businessman, who decided to run in the presidential elections, said all Paraguayans must participate in the process, "because the national problems can only be solved if all of us contribute to their solution."

The National Alliance will be reporting to the media their scheduled activities, and the paths it is planning to tread to improve the life of the people, Zapag promised.

He said: "One of the priorities for achieving overall progress is to immediately reduce, as much as possible, the state apparatus, and privatize certain companies." He added, however, that he is against a full privatization of the Social Security Institute and that he believes such an institution should not be transferred to the private sector.

He also said he fears the new constitution "may undermine the ability to implement several projects because the provisions being included in it deal with issues that will have different characteristics in five years."

He concluded by pointing out that his party believes a constitution should establish general rules instead of establishing inflexible rules that limit the citizens' actions. "The world is changing fast and, in a few years, a new century will begin," he said.

Peru

Fujimori Discusses OAS Meeting, Democratization

PA2505025792 Lima Panamericana Television Network in Spanish 0106 GMT 25 May 92

["Exclusive" interview with President Alberto Fujimori by Panamericana Television director Patricio Ricketts Rey de Castro at the Presidential Palace in Lima on 23 May—recorded]

[Text] [Ricketts] Mr. President, thank you very much for this interview, which will enlighten not only us but all the Peruvian people. At this time there are several gaps in information regarding your participation in the successful Nassau meeting. Please explain to us the post-Nassau situation, which apparently is far different from the situation before the meeting. Your speech invites us not only to participate, but also to supervise the transition to democracy, and you request international advice on electoral matters. This indicates closer cooperation with the OAS.

[Fujimori] Yes, but I would also like this to be interpreted as a clear indication that the government trusts fully in the democratization process, that we have absolutely nothing to hide, and that we are not afraid of the election results. We are convinced of the population's need for changes. This is why, after the Bahamas meeting, I feel Peru has consolidated its image and position. We are better understood abroad, where there was one of the largest gaps of understanding after 5 April.

[Ricketts] Speaking of trust, Mr. President, in this sincere talk between us and making full use of freedom, I would like to mention that many of your critics have been questioning the credibility of all this. I think this is the first issue we should clarify. It has been said that you have cheated and made proposals at the OAS meeting that you do not intend to fulfill. This is the first question. Do you think everything will be complied with?

[Fujimori] Well...

[Ricketts, interrupting] We have guarantees.

[Fujimori] The first reaction of the opposition leaders was to flatly refuse discussing whether the government will make good its word or not. They then took a stance in view of the facts. I would say it is the opposition that lacks credibility, which should not speek in regards to a few people but in regard to all the people. The government enjoys the trust and the credibility of the Peruvian people. I think this is the most important thing. I have said many times that what the Peruvian people want is to live in a democracy. This is precisely what we are after. It has now been admitted that prior to 5 April, we had a false democracy that was based on political parties.

[Ricketts] Mr. President, before discussing what will be changed and how it will be changed in Peru—the most fundamental issue that concerns Peruvians at present—I would like to ask you something about what goes on behind the scenes. When and how did you decide on these nuances, which are so very different from your previous stance. When did your thinking begin to change? On what basis?

[Fujimori] I will tell you about one peculiarity I have had for years. Sometimes I wake up at 0400 or 0500 and take a notepad...

[Ricketts, interrupting] That sounds very lonely, Mr. President.

[Fujimori] At night, of course. At 0300 or 0400, I am by myself. I begin to jot down ideas that come to my mind. This is how the 5 April idea came about. Of course, it took a relatively long time to develop this idea.

[Ricketts] Six months, maybe?

[Fujimori] I do not want to be specific, but the time was sufficient. The results prove it. I listened to suggestions from a number of sectors. The process has matured. The important thing was to stick by the principles that led us to take the drastic measures already taken. We have not shifted our position one single millimeter. Everyone can attest to this. I have condemned and still condemn the government of the political parties. To conclude this idea, the Congress will not be replaced or reopened. The president who was elected on 28 July 1990 will continue in office. The judicial system will still be reorganized. The principles will remain the same.

[Ricketts] When and how were changes introduced? For example, what about the constituent assembly, which was not included in the initial plans? Is this due to international pressure, as has been suggested; to recommendations; or to a more mature reconsideration in view of the national public opinion?

[Fujimori] I have very clear objectives. I have shown this during the 20 months of my administration. I have always thought that in all cases Peru must be successful. I am a pragmatic man. As I said, taking into account all those principles, we have made adjustments in order to make things acceptable to all, with the same objectives. That is how we have worked. In the beginning—talking about preambles—the idea was to create a citizen's assembly, a people's assembly. However, that idea was ruled out because it sounded too much like communism. The concept was developed until we arrived at the people's constituent congress, which we changed to the Democratic Constituent Congress, or CCD. This idea was perfected with the help of many people.

[Ricketts] Who, for example?

[Fujimori] For example, Hernando de Soto was very close to me, which proves that we are open to suggestions despite the differences that may exist in other areas, maintaining our independence, of course. That is how the idea developed. In reality, the 5 April message and the message I delivered at the OAS are small chapters in which the evolution of ideas can be seen.

[Ricketts] I see. Apparently there is a contradiction between the future process and your own message. For example, I recall that in your speech, you mentioned democratization regarding decisions. However, in reality this has not occurred when seeking solutions. The decisions have been made suddenly, without any announcement or discussion. How will the democratization of government decisions take place in the future? This was one of the first topics you mentioned.

[Fujimori] There are some exceptions in this process of democratization. Some decisions relate to national security or to the economic plan. Foreign relations require immediate steps that cannot be subject to vacilation or distortions, because we must follow a certain stance. The decision to go to the OAS was one of those decisions.

[Ricketts] When did you make that decision, Mr. President?

[Fujimori] I made the decision four or five days before I went, but I kept it secret. I am sorry you were not present. With regard to government decisions, we have tried to pre-publish guidelines. I am referring to general policy guidelines. For example, general education or health policies would be published prior to their promulgation.

[Ricketts] Those are general guidelines, of course.

[Fujimori] That is correct. They would be subject to discussion by the press and experts in each field. In reality, we have not been able to do this during the past 20 months, despite the efforts we have made, due to changing situations. However, it is the government's desire—and it is my personal commitment—to publish all guidelines for their discussion. Of course, this includes the pre-publication of the law on political parties and the electoral process.

[Ricketts] Would this be against your policy of acting first and then informing?

[Fujimori] Well, I will continue doing that. I just did that at the OAS again, right? However, those are very special circumstances. In the case of general guidelines, they must be discussed. Once guidelines are set forth, steps must be taken within those guidelines. Of course there can be surprises, but I hope they will always be favorable for the country.

[Ricketts] At this time the foreign front is quiet and evidently is about to resume its cooperation. However, what is the situation on the internal front? How are we going to achieve the democratization of Peru? First of all, what do we have to change? The public does not seem to understand clearly what the plans are. What basically needs to be changed? Does the state's structure need to be changed?

[Fujimori] There are several aspects that I could summarize regarding these points. One is the entire democratization process, the country's political structure starting with the political parties. That is clear. In this regard I am sure that the young militants will apply pressure to ensure that this does happen.

[Ricketts] President, will you draft the law of political parties? Will you draft a bill...

[Fujimori, interrupting] It is being drafted and will be subjected to public discussion. The media will play a very important role in this.

[Ricketts] When can we expect this? Before the beginning of the processes....

[Fujimori, interrupting] Of course, this will take place soon. Talking specifically to your question, this also requires a reorganization of the legislative branch. This requires a discussion, whether it will be bicameral or unicameral. I am sure the Peruvian people will want it to be unicameral.

[Ricketts] Did you say unicameral?

[Fujimori] Yes.... [pauses] No, I am advancing certain ideas. Perhaps there should be a smaller number of representatives. Prior to 5 April there were 240 representatives.

[Ricketts] That is right.

[Fujimori] I would suggest a much smaller number. I would consider 80 representatives. The reorganization of the judicial branch should lead to a virtually automatic process of supervision. For example, there would be a change with the ratification of the supreme magistrates. This was virtually a post held for life and was accompanied by the vices that could be generated from this situation of indefinite stability. Those are the main aspects. However, there are other important details, such as the educational system and the university development program, the main concepts of which need to be changed. There are certain details that require adjustments. The situation has changed completely from 1979 to 1992.

[Ricketts] Mr. President, we will have a constituent assembly that will in the beginning determine the changes that will be made. We wonder whether these concepts will necessarily be the ones the assembly will assume in due time? In other words, could a project or constitution different from the one we expect emerge from this? If this were the case, would you accept a constitution that perhaps contains certain aspects you disagree with and that does not reflect some of your views? Would you accept this? What would the situation be?

[Fujimori] To reply to your question, I wish to make two points. First, that this is not a constituent assembly, but a Democratic Constituent Congress, the CCD. I insist this is a congress because the balance of powers will be restored from its very installation. It is constituent because it will draft the constitution, and it is obviously democratic because the election process will be completely different.

Second, it has nothing to do with whether I like it or not. The important thing is that the people's feelings are expressed. Let us suppose this CCD insists on an extremist position, using the same concepts of the 1979 constitution. The people will simply reject it in the popular consultations that will be held to see whether or not it is approved. Thus, the people will make the decision in the end. This is an important point. It has been said that popular consultations, plebiscites, or

referendums have been used by dictatorial regimes. This is not true. I must refute this. The most advanced democracies use them. Uruguay is the closest example, geographically speaking. France and Switzerland are other examples. Why can we not have the same rights as other people to determine whether the constitution drafted by a group of constituents is proper and good for the country.

[Ricketts] That would be very clear because in the end Peru will decide whether or not this will be accepted. Would your views and those of the government be presented to the CCD through a commission that would, for example, prepare a draft or present certain concrete ideas, as was done with the 1931 Constitution [promulgated in 1933]?

[Fujimori] That is a good question regarding the procedures. Once the CCD has been installed, I believe it will be something like that, but not necessarily exactly the same, because in the CCD there will not necessarily be representatives adept at constitutional matters. The CCD can designate a technical commission, which would be approved by the CCD, to outline a plan. This plan would finally be presented to the CCD for approval.

[Ricketts] Would the executive branch not draft this outline?

[Fujimori] One principle that will be respected is the autonomy of the powers.

[Ricketts] Yes.

[Fujimori] Of course, in this transition period it is necessary to establish a framework that is to be somehow expressed by the people. For instance, it should be decided whether the congress will be unicameral or bicameral. Let us suppose the people vote for a unicameral congress. In that case, the CCD could hardly oppose this. We should work within a framework that would represent this aspiration of the people, once such a framework is developed.

[Ricketts] The fundamental issue regarding the constituent assembly is the elections. In your speech, you said a new electoral system would be used, based on districts in which the representatives should have lived for one year. What districts are we talking about: regions, departments, provinces?

[Fujimori] The speech dealt with generalizations. I would like to imitate other countries where there are so-called electoral districts. This system would have to be adjusted for Peru's very special circumstances. We would also have to adjust for the deadline. We intend to do all this in less than five months. The idea is to have true representatives. Before the Congress was dissolved, for instance, the deputy of the Lima province resided not in Lima, but in Catarina or San Isidro and he still represented the province of Lima, something that was completely absurd. We should at least demand that whoever represents a district must reside in that district.

[Ricketts] In this case, Mr. President, there will be a unique constituent assembly, which would be constituent to begin with. This means that the representatives will be more of a national nature than of a local one. No one would come to a constituent assembly to present a problem of irrigation. These types of problems can be brought about at the legislature, but will not be of the people's central interest. The previous constituent assembly voted for a single, national electoral district, not a list, because the problem was also national. What makes you think things will be different this time, Mr. President? Why local representatives for a national problem?

[Fujimori] My proposal makes a truly national representation possible. It will not be centralized only. The purpose is to decentralize representation and increase its scope. This division into districts—which, I repeat, is still undefined and I will submit it to public debate—will also make it possible to eradicate the habitual manipulations by Peruvian cliques. There will no longer be centralized cliques. It will be possible for everyone to participate.

[Ricketts] As for the future legislative branch, the future national congress, which it has been said will be unicameral or bicameral, there is a feeling that what is being sought is not an authoritarian regime, but a strong presidential regime in Peru. Is this your intention?

[Fujimori] I would prefer to say a democratic government with a genuine balance, not an attempt by one power to rule the other. We have seen many such deficiencies, which have caused many measures to stagnate.

[Ricketts] The constitutionalists thought the 1979 Constitution had achieved this balance of power. At least, the legislative branch sought a formula for balance among the various ones available. But it did not work.

[Fujimori] There was an imbalance and a negative situation. The progress achieved was very poor. In reality, there was a precarious balance.

[Ricketts] In your government, of course. The previous ones attained a majority and this problem was nonexistent. But it has indeed appeared in yours.

[Fujimori] Results are what count. What did the country obtain during the eighties? The country was practically on the verge of collapse.

[Ricketts] Mr. President, emphasis has been placed on some aspects concerning the members of Congress: for example, not permitting reelection. The laws have already been reviewed and compared with those of other Latin American countries to find out where the reelection of representatives is permitted and where it is not, and so forth. Do you think this is very important in the case of the Congress? Do you think the country has enough qualified people to renew this body every four or five years? Do you think this may prevent those who may have played an outstanding role from returning?

[Fujimori] One of the few aspects on which I will give my personal opinion is that there should be no congressional reelection. In any event, there should only be reelection or renewal by thirds or halves. All citizens having the people's support should be given an opportunity. There is no reason why we should continue with certain elite groups. Why should we think that only 80 or 100 of 240 Peruvians are prepared to run the country? In that regard, we should be more open and let the people decide in elections who is who and where they will go.

[Ricketts] This leads us to a second question, Mr. President, a more direct question: What do you think about presidential reelection? Mexico is famous for its great slogan: Effective Suffrage, No Reelection. Several Latin American countries have already followed that path, including Ecuador and Colombia. Do you think we should apply this same criteria to the Presidency in Peru?

[Fujimori] This is one of the aspects on which I will not give my opinion. As I said, I made an exception on the previous question. The opposition groups will surely bring up this subject a great deal, precisely to create a smoke screen, because they are the first ones to favor reelection, and not only that, but life-term positions.

[Ricketts] That is true.

[Fujimori] So you see, it is always easier to see someone else's faults.

[Ricketts] So you would have no objection?

[Fujimori] To what?

[Ricketts] To no reelection?

[Fujimori] I would accept the people's decision.

[Ricketts] Much has been said about changing men and about corruption linked to men. However, would you not say that there are profound problems in the system, material and even legal problems? There are archaic and old-fashioned procedures in Peru, for example; there is too much centralism in Lima, and so forth. In other words, will your proposals concern individuals, or will they go deeper into the nature of things?

[Fujimori] The problem must be viewed as a whole. Precisely, the situation you just described is what has encouraged corruption. As an example, can you imagine that the state has 66,000 unresolved cases in the judicial branch?

[Ricketts] And most of those cases are abandoned by the state, Mr. President?

[Fujimori] Yes. However, this consumes great efforts, money, and time from both sides, and basically, there is much immorality. Therefore, it is necessary to focus on this problem from various angles. To begin with—I think we mentioned this before, but it is very important—the magistrates in the higher courts should be confirmed periodically. Those appointments should not be for a lifetime. Their work should be evaluated from time to time.

[Ricketts] By the Congress?

[Fujimori] By the Congress, of course.

[Ricketts] The Congress would have to confirm them after a certain period.

[Fujimori] Yes, it could be every three years. In that manner, if there is a magistrate whose work is not considered satisfactory, he could be questioned. The second aspect I feel is very important is that at the beginning of a judicial career, there should be a period of training and more professional selection of future judges. A third aspect is that the administration should not be too centralized, as this can lead to inefficiency and bureaucracy, which is the case in Lima, for example.

[Ricketts] Of course. This is really [word indistinct] and I am happy you mentioned it, Mr. President, because Lima has 6 million inhabitants but only one court. However, I believe that Tacna and Moquegua have 120,000 inhabitants and a higher court.

[Fujimori] Yes, it is very disproportionate.

[Ricketts] Would your government—this would be a very practical and serious action—divide Lima into six judicial districts with 1 million each and with six courts, so that people would not have to come from Comas to file a lawsuit at the Justice Palace? This would be real decentralization.

[Fujimori] We will accomplish that in phases. The ideal would obviously be the situation you mentioned, because a superior court cannot serve 6.5 million inhabitants. That is obvious. However, this first phase includes the decentralization of civilian and penal courts to ensure they reach other areas. This is already under way; it is being coordinated with the judicial branch to implement it very soon. It is mostly a matter of organization and of choosing strategic locations. We hope we will be able to implement it this year. We want the users to be the beneficiaries.

[Ricketts] Do you not believe, Mr. President, that this will lead to.... [pauses] I imagine that this also implies the transfer of the courts, because the courts will be tasked with supervising the judges...

[Fujimori, interrupting] Yes, that is correct.

[Ricketts] Otherwise, they would do as they wish...

[Fujimori, interrupting] For example, in San Juan de Lurigancho, in which over 1 million inhabitants...

[Ricketts, interrupting] It needs a court.

[Fujimori] Yes, it needs a court and not only civilian and penal courts, but the court secretaries must also be in the

same office instead of one being in (Asangaro) and another being the court in the Justice Palace...

[Ricketts, interrupting] [question indistinct]

[Fujimori] This also leads to corruption. The other aspect that would be required for the modernization of the judicial branch would be to have an adequate infrastructure. The executive branch has prepared a rationalization process that is still incomplete. However, it has vacated several buildings and offices. One of them is, for example, the Education Ministry; most of its offices were vacated. There are many others.

Thus, penal and civilian courts that are concentrated in the Justice Palace and others in the (Alimar) Building could be transferred to these buildings together with the court secretaries. We want an infrastructure that will enable them to work more comfortably. The last point, which I believe is essential, is the introduction of computers in a comprehensive manner.

[Ricketts] Mr. President, apart from these considerations of the things to be done, what about the schedule? It has been substantially modified. What are the steps that will be adopted henceforth until the CCD and the next Congress are established? What do you think?

[Fujimori] Allow me to make a clarification between dates and goals: The dates have changed, the goals continue to be the same. A great effort on the part of the National Election Board [JNE] will undoubtedly be required. The differences between the president and the members of the JNE have been overcome. We need to update the voter registration lists. The call for the CCD would be made within five months—rather, the election will be held before five months. We would fulfill our commitment to the OAS in this regard. Afterward, the CCD would draft the constitution and approve it.

[Ricketts] How much time will it take, Mr. President? What is the deadline? The deadline for the constituent assembly was one year the last time, right? When will it have fulfilled its duty to ensure that the democratic process is completely free and consolidated?

[Fujimori] I do not like to establish deadlines.

[Ricketts] There has been no decision on this yet?

[Fujimori] An aspect that should be taken into account is that the CCD is already a legislative branch. Thus, if it operated six or eight months, there would have been a balance of power during that period of transition anyway. This is one of the reasons my proposal was welcomed at the OAS. The sooner the better, of course. However, after the approval of this constitution, the CCD would conduct a popular consultation. The constitution would be approved or eventually rejected.

[Ricketts] Being that the CCD is also a legislative branch, we understand that its life would be longer than the time used to draft the charter itself. That is, it drafts the constitution within one year and then continues to exist. Is that the idea?

[Fujimori] It could be...

[Ricketts, interrupting] It could be (?one) year?

[Fujimori] Yes.

[Ricketts, interrupting] Otherwise, there could be an imbalance again.

[Fujimori] Of course, it is a congress and it is democratic.

[Ricketts] The congress would remain after the constitution is drafted? Is that the idea?

[Fujimori] At any rate, I believe this would not be questionable.

[Ricketts] No longer, of course. Mr. President, when do you think there will be a precise definition of the timetable, the dates, and so on?

[Fujimori] This will have to be properly coordinated with the president of the JNE. We must see how his plans are coming along. I believe that the sooner the better. At least, I am sure we have strong popular support.

[Ricketts] The CCD will be operating five months after the Nassau meeting?

[Fujimori] In less than five months.

[Ricketts] In less than five months. That is great. Mr. President, aside from the problems we have always had, problems which have become more evident since 5 April, I would like to know whether terrorism has increased since 5 April? There are major problems in the country. You have mentioned terrorism as being our biggest problem and lately we have been experiencing a stronger wave of terrorist activity.

[Fujimori] Allow me to refer to your preamble. The truth is that the problems were not created by the 5 April measure.

[Ricketts] They have become more evident, have they not?

[Fujimori] Yes, they have become more evident but they have existed and have been growing for years. Regarding terrorism, apparently it has gotten worse, especially now with the use of car bombs. However, we must ask ourselves if the Shining Path is acting for political reasons or not. Then the questions is: Is the car bomb intended to be a means of political dissuasion or a means of attracting supporters? Obviously not. A car bomb creates rejection. Therefore, politically speaking, the Shining Path is on the wrong path. I believe this is because it has lost spaces and its leadership has been hurting.

[Ricketts] I think the car bombs are a desperate action by the Shining Path in light of the control being exerted at the jails and other similar situations.

[Fujimori] I do not want to use adjectives because of the risk of being described with adjectives by others. But terrorism must be confronted with peace. In the strategy we expect to consolidate, there are several fronts. I have explained this several times but I think it is worthwhile to repeat it. First of all, we must consider the rural areas, where terrorism first emerges. It spreads everywhere in areas which include Ayacucho, Mancaro, Apurimac, and Huallaga. In my government, it is necessary to confront it, not only with the Armed Forces and the police, but with the support of the population. We have received considerable support.

[Ricketts] The balance is positive?

[Fujimori] In the rural areas? Of course. I would not want to attribute the success to the government but mainly to the peasants and farmers, as well as to the Armed Forces. There have even been heroic deeds by both peasants and soldiers in the fight against the Shining Path. Terrorism has been eliminated in entire areas. Of course, we must admit there are still areas where terrorism exists.

[Ricketts] At the same time, Mr. President, there are other areas, such as Cuzco and many others, where terrorism is spreading. At least, there was not terrorism of this degree. Terrorism seems to be spreading in other areas as well.

[Fujimori] Terrorism does indeed exist in such areas; in some of these areas, there is also drug trafficking, which is closely linked to terrorism. You mentioned Cuzco, a transit zone. But there are others, such as Achuco, Uchiza, and Tocache. In Upper Huallaga and Aguaytia, the situation is more complicated because there are other interests at stake. But you mentioned the fronts where we are fighting. The other aspect is the places where leaders were trained and plots for attacks were laid out. I refer to the universities. Until a year ago, the majority of the state universities were controlled by the Shining Path. The campus cafeterias were controlled by the so-called cafeteria committees. University students all know how these cafeterias were managed. The cafeteria committees picked up checks from the university authorities, allegedly to buy groceries and other things. But not all this money was used for this purpose. Only those who obeyed the Shining Path could eat at those places. All this has changed.

[Ricketts] Do you really believe this has changed, or is this just a cosmetic change, Mr. President? Is the infiltration of student groups not continuing?

[Fujimori] There is a degree of infiltration, but the situation has changed completely. I have seen it personally and university students can attest to this, be they from the National University of Callao or San Marcos. Imagine, San Marcos has not only changed its look but the attitude of the university community has changed. We are working very hard at the University of La Cantuta, which also served as a home for terrorist leaders. That is the second great goal we are trying to accomplish. I say: trying to accomplish, because we have not yet finished.

[Ricketts] This is at least making life more difficult for them; using these places has become more difficult for them.

[Fujimori] Yes, there was the so-called university autonomy. This was a constitutional provision that was transformed into the principle of extraterritoriality. Frankly, I violated the Constitution in this sense because I will prevent the collapse of universities and society.

[Ricketts] That is not the meaning of the extraterritoriality principle...

[Fujimori, interrupting] Of course, that was the way it was interpreted and it remained that way for years. The third aspect are the jails. The Castro Jail is a pathetic example of how the leadership of the Shining Path and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement controlled the situation.

[Ricketts] It was their garrison.

[Fujimori] It was a garrison and training center; it was a place, let us say, to earn a graduate degree in terrorism. We are also, of course, trying to restore the principle of authority and complementing all this with an international campaign; a critical and self-questioning campaign. I have promoted it personally not only in Peru through speeches but also abroad, including at the University at Berkeley or at any forum I was given. Note that there is now greater understanding of the terrorist problem abroad....

[Ricketts, interrupting] Yes, [words indistinct] that is evident.

[Fujimori] The OAS has expressed a very clear and categorical position.

[Ricketts] Will our diplomatic service do something about this? Will we have brochures or any kind of communication? Because it is incredible, Mr. President, I receive the brochures of [word indistinct] that Mr. [Luis] Arce [Borja] [director of the international edition of the Shining Path newspaper EL DIARIO] forwards to me, but I have never been able to send him any from the Peruvian state to reciprocate.

[Fujimori] I believe, however, that we are progressing in this area. The international community now views developments more objectively. It now realizes what the Shining Path is. Sectors that kept an silent (?with regard to) the Shining Path are now (?changing their position).

[Ricketts] Mr. President, would you say.... [pauses] Would you repeat today what you said months ago: that

you guarantee that during your administration, the Shining Path will be essentially controlled?

[Fujimori] That is my commitment and we are working towareds that goal. This is why we are progressing in phases. I have offered no immediate solution. We have made achievements in rural areas, universities, jails, and with the international community. We must now target urban areas and continue to deal blows against the leadership. We must also do some political work. I believe the atmosphere is increasingly better in the latter area. Fortunately, there is nearly national unity in this fight against terrorism. I believe there are no major differences in this regard.

[Ricketts] That is right, Mr. President. Drug trafficking continues to be a major concern. I understand that is a point that is the source of dispute or at least of concern not only at home but also abroad. In the United States, Mr. Bernard Aronson probably brought up ideas about this. What progress has been made? What are the possibilities for improving the drug trafficking situation today?

[Fujimori] Despite the criticism and despite the fact that the funds have not arrived, I believe we have made great progress. Do you know where the greatest progress has been made? In the change of attitude of the coca growers in the face of the development problem and in face of the government's position on this problem. The coca growers have displayed a favorable attitude toward changing from an illegal activity to a legal activity. They are moved by greater profit. We are trying to create a real market economy in the area. There are now farmers who manage to bring out their rice and corn to market centers. We have not heard for the past several months that rice and corn are rotting in San Martin Department. That is a good sign.

The government has also made some progress. We are no longer confronting an entire population of 250,000 peasant families as our enemies. We are instead trying to get their allegiance. These are two fundamental changes, for which we lack the necessary money, of course.

[Ricketts] There have been a number of recent reports from the coca-producing areas, including one by Cecilia Valenzuela. The report, published a few days ago, was comprehensive and well prepared. It has been said there is a fundamental evolution in the coca economy itself, although as you said, there are better alternatives. The coca economy, it is being said, is deteriorating rapidly because the coca producers are forced to go farther and farther to plant coca. The situation has reached such an extent, according to the report, that the peasants cannot rely only on selling their coca to drug traffickers to survive. It is said that the peasants are forced to produce the basic paste themselves. This has turned the majority of farmers into paste producers. There is a large-scale production of family-made paste. Is this the report you have?

[Fujimori] As far as I know, this situation already existed and was even visible from the air. A depression in the ground for preparing paste was clearly visible beside the coca plantations. The measures taken are also clear. A farmer plants coca, while another processes and markets it. The law is also clear. There are no repressive measures against the peasants who plant coca.

[Ricketts] Even if he produces [words indistinct]?

[Fujimori] In such a case, yes. There are severe penalties provided for by the law.

[Ricketts] Basically, however, do you think the policy we are familiar with has yielded results, or do you think it must be modified according to the circumstances? For instance, do we need a greater number of public order authorities? Military planes are patrolling, but clandestine landing strips continue to be used. There is really no control. Drug trafficking planes operate at night but Air Force planes cannot. What should we do to eliminate the problem?

[Fujimori] The Air Force is in charge of fighting this traffic. Trafficking is done mainly through the air. Regrettably, Peru works with whatever resources are available, and they are limited. Because of our financial limitations, we cannot deal properly with a problem that involves hundreds of millions of dollars. In addition, we do not have the international cooperation to handle this problem that affects the entire world. What Peru is really doing is making its contribution to the fight against an international scourge. This is not just a Peruvian problem.

[Ricketts] Peru is assuming its share of the responsibility to tackle a problem that affects everyone.

[Fujimori] Peru has been working to help solve a world problem, but the country has not been well understood. There is no reciprocity from the countries that are involved.

[Ricketts] Is there not at present, Mr. President?

[Fujimori] Hardly. To be blunt, they have looked the other way.

[Ricketts] Including the United States?

[Fujimori] Yes. We must carry out our own campaign. There has been a certain degree of understanding in the United States and Europe, but this understanding must be complemented with cooperation.

[Ricketts] It should be an effort consistent with the magnitude of the problem.

[Fujimori] With $10 or $15 million, we will not be able to combat a problem where business deals are made worth $1 billion or $1.5 billion.

[Ricketts] Not only that, Mr. President. Please confirm this, but I understand that the problem is no longer just

coca but also poppy, which drug traffickers are rapidly introducing to a number of regions. Is this true?

[Fujimori] Well, poppy fields have been found, but fortunately poppy has not spread to the extent it has in Colombia.

[Ricketts] But it could soon become a serious problem like the coca threat. The coca threat developed quite suddenly.

[Fujimori] It could become a serious threat and that is where the responsibility of the consumer countries lies. As long as those countries continue to create a market, that market and the needs of a large sector of the population will force them in that direction. Fortunately, we have an advantage in this country. The coca growers do not want to live outside the law and surrounded by insecurity and repression. We have seen this in the Ene y Apurimac Valley and in Huallaga Highlands. We must give those people an opportunity.

[Ricketts] Yes, they need an opportunity.

[Fujimori] At least an opportunity to survive.

[Ricketts] Mr. President, I thank you for your time and for this pleasant conversation. However, I would not like to end this interview without bringing up a very important subject, which is your great confrontation with political parties and what must be done in that regard, because to a certain extent I believe it is the main cause of the current conflict. Regarding a law on political parties, what.... [pauses] We understand that you are not against political parties, but would like to have better political parties?

[Fujimori] I have been clear on this, and I reiterated this three times in the Bahamas, because I did not want to be misinterpreted, since obviously there were representatives there...

[Ricketts, interrupting] Right here in this office, when General Velasco was in power, the possibility of having no parties was discussed. The possibility of having a country without parties was mentioned. That is not your idea, is it?

[Fujimori] No. I would say that there should be democracy in Peru, and democracy must start with the parties. I have adopted a phrase—it is not mine, I have heard it before and I included it in my speech—which says: Democracy lives from political parties. However, when those parties are mismanaged, they can kill democracy. That is what was happening in Peru. Undoubtedly, in Peru...

[Ricketts, interrupting] It happened in Germany when [words indistinct] the law on parties, right?

[Fujimori] Yes. Political parties must be strengthened in Peru. However, I think the tendency is to achieve political independence, that is, partisan independence. That is good. Each one is free to make its own decision in that regard.

[Ricketts] Do you think—I believe you have mentioned this in previous statements—there should be a law on political parties?

[Fujimori] Yes, it will be done, but after discussions and consultations with various groups.

[Ricketts] This law would basically include an aspect that has not even been taken into consideration in the Constitution in articles on political parties, which is the economic clarity of parties. This is the case in Germany, where the accounting of the political parties must be publicly audited, and so forth—is that right?

[Fujimori] My proposal is going to cause problems.

[Ricketts] What is your proposal?

[Fujimori] We know we must democratize political parties. However, there must be controls and the income and expenditures must be audited.

[Ricketts] Of course.

[Fujimori] In the case of income, the source must be determined. If someone donates $2 million to the party for its campaign, it must be determined if those funds were legally obtained or if they have paid taxes. I mean that it must be clear that the $2 million was not obtained illegally.

[Ricketts] That is correct. In addition, in other countries, like Germany, there are ceilings. Donations can only be given up to a certain amount.

[Fujimori] Yes, otherwise can you imagine the [word indistinct] from some groups?

[Ricketts] So that economic clarity is...

[Fujimori, interrupting] It is absolutely necessary.

[Ricketts] There are two other fundamental aspects on which I would like to hear your opinion. First of all, the internal democracy within parties. Will the law guarantee this?

[Fujimori] I would like to be realistic about that. We must advance in phases. It would be ideal to have a group responsible for supervising this democratic process, but we would need some sort of impartial jury that would observe and supervise and ensure that the democratic process is observed during party elections. There is much for us to learn from countries that are more advanced in this area. Some of those countries have supervisory bodies formed by members of the various political parties. In other cases, and if needed, the JNE would intervene. This would be a matter for public

consultation. I hope that an agreement will be reached and will be implemented in a realistic manner and in phases.

[Ricketts] If the elections are going to be held in five months, then this would have to be very soon.

[Fujimori] Yes, it must be soon, in the next few days. Time is obviously running short.

[Ricketts] Time is really running short and in this case you have been very generous with your time. I thank you and I hope this will not be the last time we hold such an open and honest interview with you. This is something the people of Peru want. They want to know how the government thinks.

[Fujimori] I also appreciate this opportunity you have given me to broach these issues that interest the people. Thank you.

Forum To Draft Rules for Constituent Congress

PA2305215392 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 1805 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Rafael Villegas, a National Peace Council member, has announced the establishment of a commission to draft the rules and regulations for the Democratic Constituent Congress. He said that the delegation will be headed by Javier Perez de Cuellar and include representatives of political parties, the government, the National Peace Council, and the church.

Antero Flores Arauz, deputy of the dissolved Congress, called for unity and dialogue among all groups in order to eradicate terrorism and drug trafficking. Constitutional experts agree on the need to establish the Democratic Constituent Congress. Dr. Francisco Miro Quesada [Law School professor at the National University of San Marcos] said this process must be autonomous to ensure that there is free and democratic development.

Meanwhile, Cesar Landa [constitutional law professor at the Catholic University of Lima] said this process demands the issuance of laws on political parties and elections, as well as other laws to regulate the operation of the Congress. Anibal Quirogos [constitutional law professor at unidentified university] said that the political parties are challenged to propose solutions that deal with the country's main problems.

Government Rejects OAS Human Rights Resolution

PA2305042292 Lima Global de Television Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Peru announced on 22 May that it fully disagrees with a resolution issued by the OAS Inter-American Human Rights Commission concerning Peru. During a general assembly of that hemispheric organization, Justice Minister Fernando Vega Santa Gadea pointed out the lack of depth and realism in the resolution. The final ruling of the commission, chaired by Venezuela's Marco Tulio Bruni Celli, was challenged by several foreign ministers. Nevertheless, the resolution was approved by 24 of the 34 foreign ministers in attendance.

Once again, the Peruvian Government announced its wholehearted disagreement with the resolution issued by the OAS Inter-American Human Rights Commission. This time, Justice Minister Fernando Vega Santa Gadea was entrusted to defend Peru's interests at the 22d OAS Foreign Ministers General Assembly. Although the resolution was approved by 24 of the 34 foreign ministers, the commission's work was harshly criticized by more than one of the diplomats present.

The section of the resolution that refers to Peru states that the elimination of the separation of powers affects the true essence of democracy, destroys the institutional balances necessary to halt abuses of power, and hinders the rights of the people.

The OAS resolution also casts doubts on the Peruvian Government's respect for human rights. That resolution was fully rejected not only by the Peruvian delegation, but also by Assembly President Hector Gros Espiell, who refuted Bruni Celli by saying that the commission's report was plagued with dangerous half-truths. Gros Espiell made those remarks in his capacity as president of the ad hoc commission tasked with promoting a dialogue between the executive branch and the authorities of the dissolved branches with the ultimate goal of returning institutional democracy to Peru.

Apparently Bruni Celli did not consider the fact that over the last 12 years of violence, an average of 5.5 persons have died each day, totaling 22,443 victims, among whom 9,257 were civilians. The damage done by the war is estimated at $20 billion and has affected 45 percent of the population:

[Begin recording] [Senator Enrique Bernales] The entire world knows it, and I know it. I am a UN expert on this matter. Unfortunately, and much to our shame, human rights have been violated in Peru for as long as history itself has existed. The human rights violations have worsened because terrorists consider those violations to be part of their very charter and existence. Terrorists are by nature human rights violators. If I were called to testify before the Inter-American Human Rights Commission, unfortunately I would have to say that both sides—that is, the terrorists and the government—are violating human rights.

[Reporter] Senator, what do you think would be the best solution to end these violations?

[Bernales] There must be organized participation from the people, and above all, the democratic institutions must be allowed to develop and grow stronger. [end recording]

Cab Bomb Explosion Leaves One Dead, 40 Injured

PA2305134592 Lima Radio Programs del Peru Network in Spanish 1220 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] One dead, 40 injured, and considerable property damage was the result of a terrorist attack that occurred in the intersection of the Navarrete and Juan de Arona Avenues located in the district of San Isidro, Lima.

Taxi driver Giovani Naola Rojas, 29, who was driving near the area, was killed when his vehicle was thrown into the iron gates of the Oesch Shopping Center by the force of a car bomb explosion that included 400 kgs of dynamite and amfo [mixture of amonal and gelatine dynamite].

The force of the explosion left a crater 6.4 meters in diameter and 1.45 meters deep. The explosion also broke all the glass, windows, and doors of the Banco de Credito, Extebandes [expansion unknown], Banco Popular, Sur Medio, and Banco de Comercio.

The Todos Shopping Center, Petroperu [State Petroleum Agency], the OJO newspaper, and other stores located in a 10-block radius were also damaged by the explosion.

Defense Minister on Suspended U.S. Antidrug Aid

PA2305181192 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 0216 GMT 23 May 92

[Excerpt] Lima, 22 May (NOTIMEX)—Defense Minister Victor Malca said on 22 May that Washington had suspended its antidrug aid to Peru, one year after a bilateral agreement to combat drug trafficking in this Andean country was signed.

After he confirmed that U.S. radars in the Peruvian jungle had been dismantled—as was announced three months ago—the top military leader said that U.S. cooperation in this area is currently on hold.

Malca admitted that the withdrawal of the radars has limited antidrug operations in Peru. The radars had operated since November 1991 from the Iquitos and Andoas military bases. These military bases are located in the Loreto Amazon Department, which borders Ecuador, Colombia, and Brazil.

The minister said, however, that the Peruvian Air Forces (FAP) will do whatever is necessary to comply with the Peruvian Government's commitments in the agreement signed on 14 May 1991.

The antidrug agreement sparked controversy in Peru because it was signed without a preliminary national debate. The Peruvian opposition groups maintained that the government had gone against the nation's interests. They noted that the problem had not been broached in a comprehensive manner with the responsibility of the consumer nations being taken into account.

FAP General Commander Arnaldo Velarde also made statements on 22 May and admitted they have encountered difficulties in controlling the airspace over the Peruvian jungle since the radars were dismantled.

Air surveillance is mainly centered on the coca production areas, especially in the Valle del Alto Huallaga, located in the San Martin region, 550 km to the northeast of Lima. Sixty percent of all the coca produced in the world is grown in this area.

The radars were used to detect drug trafficker's light planes, and Peruvian figher planes would immediately take off from military bases to intercept the intruding planes, usually coming from Colombia.

Malca and Velarde pointed out that the withdrawal of the radars was announced by the U.S. advisory and military aid group on 22 April. [passage omitted]

Government Appoints 'Temporary' Attorney General

PA2305215792 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 1805 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] The government has appointed Blanca Nelida Colan Maguino as temporary Attorney General of the Republic. The government also appointed Cesar Felix Galvez as temporary criminal prosecutor, Victor Manuel Portilla Alba as civil law prosecutor, and Federico Carmona Rodriguez as administrative law prosecutor.

At the same time, the government officially dissolved the Lima Savings Trust. It ordered the liquidation of the Trust's business and assets. The Trust, however, will maintain its corporate status.

Development Bank Created

PY2205192292 Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 22 May 92 p A1

[Summary] The national emergency and reconstruction government issued Decree Law 25480 creating the National Development Bank [Banco de Fomento Nacional]. The bank will finance the development of small businesses and agriculture production throughout the nation.

Municipal Workers Demand Payment of Salaries

PA2505234092 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 25 May 92

[Report by Maritza Lopez]

[Text] Lima municipal workers, employees, and laborers on 25 May once again staged a demonstration inside the Municipal Palace to demand payment of their salaries for the month of May. Guillermo Castro, secretary general of the employees' union, demanded that Lima Mayor Ricardo Belmont pay the salaries the employees should have collected on 20 May.

[Begin Castro recording] On 22 May we staged a demonstration but received no answer from the administration which, in reality, has remained totally silent. Today we are insisting that our salaries be paid. If you visit the municipal offices you will see that all the officials are gone. It seems as if they are turning a deaf ear because they do not care whether or not the workers are paid.

[Lopez] What does the municipality owe you [words indistinct]?

[Castro] It owes us for the month of May; we should have been paid on 20 May. We reached an agreement whereby, according to the resources available from tax collection, we would be paid on 20 May. [end recording]

At present the city hall workers are located on the roof of the Municipal Palace, and the National Police are doing everything possible to disperse the demonstrators.

Uruguay

Spain's ETA, Tupamaros Link Investigated

LD2305055192 Madrid RNE-1 Radio Network in Spanish 2200 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] We return to Operation Dulce in Uruguay with the latest report from our special correspondent Javier Gonzalez. The ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty] members are in prison and the process to request their extradition will begin in Spain on Monday.

[Gonzalez] One line of investigation is seeking to establish a possible personal, institutional, and financial link between the detainees and the Tupamaros. They are the only Uruguayan political group to have asked that ETA members be considered political prisoners, but they have also denied a report published in the Montevideo press that ETA members supposedly contributed $50,000 to Radio Panamericana, a station that belonged to the former Uruguayan guerrillas.

Tupamaro leader Leopoldo (Lasa Banderie) has denied the link with ETA. There is no doubt that personal relations exist. These relations appear to have originated in France, where many Latin Americans fleeing the military dictatorships in the seventies went into exile.

Another line of investigation concerns the relations which the [word indistinct] detainees established in other countries in the region. It has been confirmed that some of them traveled frequently, especially to southern Brazil and Buenos Aires. Spanish police officers are investigating in the Argentine capital and Uruguayan sources have indicated that the number of ETA members in Argentina could be very high. This is important because it was previously thought that most of the ETA terrorists who have taken refuge in Latin America were in Mexico, Venezuela, and Cuba.

Deputies Revoke Draft Social Security Bill

PY2305011492 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0411 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Montevideo, 21 May (EFE)—President Luis Alberto Lacalle's administration suffered a harsh political blow today following a decision by the Chamber of Deputies to veto a draft bill reforming the country's social security system, which is showing a deficit.

The bill, which was "urgently" submitted by the government, included a point agreed on with the IMF to reduce the cost of social security. The bill was vetoed by 57 of 97 deputies who attended a tense congressional meeting that concluded a few minutes before midnight on 21 May.

Deputy Jorge Machinena, the first lawmaker elected by President Lacalle's political grouping, was among the deputies who vetoed the bill. This attitude reflects his disagreement with the government. Three ruling party deputies added their votes to those of the opposition, a fact that reveals a new split within the ruling party.

The bill was vetoed two days before the constitutional deadline given to the Chamber of Deputies expired. Bills that are analyzed on an urgent basis must be approved within 45 days.

The government tried to create "personal accounts" through which pension payments would be made in keeping with the real contributions of retirees.

The Uruguayan social security system deteriorated in 1989 when a constitutional regulation—which was approved through a plebiscite—established an automatic pension increase in accordance with workers's basic salaries. The costs for the state multiplied five times and generated a serious fiscal deficit.

But Uruguay's most serious problem is the ratio of workers and retirees. Uruguay has 3 million inhabitants, of which 1.2 million are regarded as economically active. The state pays pensions to 699,000 people per month.

Venezuela

Minister Proposes 'Great National Agreement'

PA2205202192 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1900 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Caracas, 22 May (EFE)—Venezuelan Defense Minister General Fernando Ochoa Antich on 22 May proposed to President Carlos Andres Perez "a great national agreement" to solve the country's "acute historical crisis."

Ochoa Antich, who met with Perez, said that the national agreement he is proposing is not limited to Democratic Action [AD], the ruling social democratic party, and the Social Christian Party [COPEI], the main opposition force, but includes "all national groups."

The defense minister said that, although AD and COPEI are very important parties, "the Venezuelan people should be able" to determine their own future.

Gen. Ochoa Antich said that, since the February foiled coup, his objective has been to attain "the internal unity of the Armed Forces."

Approximately 1,000 mid-level Armed Forces officers participated in the coup attempt in an act that led to a national political crisis and very nearly ended 34 years of democracy.

Ochoa Antich said further: "I have sought unity in the Armed Forces so that we can guarantee the country's stability." He added: We in the Armed Forces "do not covet power."

His remarks seem to allude indirectly to rumors circulating in local political circles that AD and COPEI have decided to update their political cooperation, which has been in effect since 4 February, to a national agreement of greater scope.

Both AD and COPEI have rejected the request by several political personalities for Perez to step down or for his term, which should end in February 1994, to be cut short.

Sources of the leading opposition party have said that their support for the Perez government is intended to preclude a new coup attempt in Venezuela.

The threat of institutional disruption looms over Venezuela as the result of political instability, the fiscal crisis—there will be a huge $3.4 billion deficit this year—popular rejection of the government's economic policy, and the unrest prevailing in certain Armed Forces circles.

Parties Approve Agreement

PA2205163592 Caracas Venezolana de Television Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 22 May 92

[Report by Cecilia Pachano]

[Text] Democratic Action [AD] President Humberto Celli announced on 22 May that AD and the Social Christian Party [COPEI] will announce in the next few days a memorandum of understanding that was approved on the evening of 20 May at La Casona. The meeting was held by the leaders of the two political organizations. The memorandum is to be the foundation of their agreement.

During a news conference, Celli said his party has been speaking with different sources with the goal of arriving at a national agreement that will last beyond the present administration. He said that, during the meeting at La Casona, commissions were appointed to draft the memorandum of understanding to be released next week. He added that the parties hope business and labor organizations and other political parties will support the agreement.

[Begin Celli recording] We appointed a number of commissions to work over the next 10 days to present the country with a basis of general agreement. The agreement was conceived by AD and COPEI, of course, but it will also be open to all those who feel this proposal coincides with their way of thinking, so that it can have the support base, and above all, the efficiency of democracy, which is one of the factors in doubt at present. The idea is to present specific working plans. [end recording]

COPEI leader Gustavo Octavio Briceno discussed the subject at the Legislative Palace. He said the agreement deals mainly with economic matters.

[Begin Briceno recording, in progress] ...basically in the economic area. In no case—although you have not asked, I am telling you this—has this cooperation been focused on a greater COPEI presence in the government. [end recording]

The AD president emphasized that this agreement goes beyond the exclusive governmental sphere.

Leftists Seek Violence

PA2205202792 Paris AFP in Spanish 1843 GMT 22 May 92

[Excerpts] Caracas, 22 May (AFP)—"Old, traditional leftist sectors of Venezuela have become active again, in the belief that the situation will enable them to gain power through violence," Defense Minister General Fernando Ochoa Antich stated on 22 May in Caracas.

"Guerrillas are seeking to regroup in the eastern part of the country," Gen. Ivan Jimenez Sanchez, chief of staff of the Venezuelan Armed Forces, said on 21 May in Bogota, where he is visiting. [passage omitted]

Ochoa commented on Jimenez' statement, saying that "as a result of the 4 February incidents, old and traditional leftist sectors have become active again, in the belief that the situation will enable them to achieve power through violence."

"The Armed Forces reject this. Power must be attained through civic means," Gen. Ochoa added. [passage omitted]

To overcome the crisis, the two principal parties, the Social Democratic Democratic Action (ruling AD) and Christian Democratic COPEI (formal opposition), are preparing a long-range alliance for up to 10 or 15 years.

According to Minister Ochoa, the AD-COPEI agreement is "very limited" and the Armed Forces want one that is even broader. The Armed Forces want "a national agreement which has not yet been obtained and which we must continue to seek," he said. For Ochoa, the changes effected since February—such as the cabinet changes to include two Christian Democrats, measures

to abate a spiraling fiscal deficit, and Congress's debate on a constitutional reform—"are slowly progressing and are virtually nonexistent."

"If the national leadership does not try to make profound changes through a national agreement, undoubtedly our society may find itself involved in a wave of violence," the general reiterated. Such violence would be the responsibility of radical leftist sectors that would be regrouping, according to Ochoa and Jimenez.

Red Flag, which has 1,000 members according to press reports attributed to the Political Police, is a Marxist-Leninist group created in 1971. This group was involved in urban and rural guerrilla warfare for 10 years. Red Flag then joined students and people's struggles without any political repercussions, but the police have attributed it with violent demonstrations for almost one year.

The same goes for the small "Venceremos Group," apparently a splinter of the Red Flag.

"Third Path" is the name Douglas Bravo, former legendary communist guerrilla of the sixties, gave to the meeting of his supporters a few years ago, when he renounced orthodox Marxism-Leninism. According to press reports, "Third Path" is more of a proposal than an organization and it has not been blamed for any subversive actions.

Recent facts, such as the robbery of weapons from an arsenal by a deserting Army lieutenant "who was infiltrated by a subversive group," according to Ochoa, seem to give strength to reports that guerrillas are regrouping in the country.

Armed Forces Unified

PA2305151692 Caracas Venezolana de Television Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 23 May 92

[Report by Giovanni Daboin in Caracas]

[Text] Defense Minister General Fernando Ochoa Antich said on 22 May that his goal is to maintain the unity of the Armed Forces in order to guarantee stability so that the country's political and social groups may reach a national agreement and overcome the historical crisis that prevails in the nation.

The defense minister, who used a reflexive tone, exchanged views on the situation that currently prevails in the country with reporters who cover events at Miraflores Palace. During the conversation, Minister Ochoa Antich emphasized the efforts exerted to guarantee the internal unity of the Armed Forces, to maintain an appropriate and secure atmosphere, and to allow all Venezuelans to achieve the agreement necessary to overcome the crisis because there is no ambition for power within the Armed Forces.

[Begin Ochoa recording] One must choose a road. You either choose the road of violence we experienced on 4 February, in an effort to solve the country's problems by a military coup with guns, or you choose a civilized road, through a dialogue and a discussion within a framework of peace. Really, I want to leave my children a society in which problems can be discussed and solved in absolute peace, through a creative dialogue. I truly believe the conditions exist in Venezuela for all the national groups to reach an agreement and overcome this country's difficult situation. [end recording]

Ochoa Antich ruled out the possibility that a rupture will occur within the Armed Forces by the rebel group involved in the 4 February events. He said the event was an historical accident that must be overcome without causing a division.

The issue of military promotions was also discussed, and the minister agreed it was necessary to review the selection system because it is not appropriate to announce promotions only once a year, or to have so few positions available for so many good candidates. In his opinion, this obviously causes displeasure among the military every year.

Talking about border issues, he said governments must quickly solve the problems with a plan to create settlements in those zones and to control illegal immigration.

Going back to the current crisis that prevails in Venezuela, the defense minister reviewed recent changes and said they have been too slow—or there have been none—in certain priority areas.

Foreign Minister Calls For End of Cuban Embargo

PA2405005992 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2057 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Caracas, 22 May (NOTIMEX)—Venezuela has called for an end to the U.S. blockade of Cuba and the return of this Caribbean country to the Latin American community.

At a news conference held on 22 May, Venezuelan Foreign Minister Humberto Calderon Berti said the Cuban case should be discussed during the next Group of Three (G-3) summit to be held in Caracas on 11 June. Calderon Berti said "confrontation goes against dialogue. The embargo has not produced the desired effect" of causing the downfall of Fidel Castro's government. The diplomat believes "human and economic exchanges" will prompt political changes in Cuba as was the case with the formerly socialist nations in Europe.

Calderon Berti said it would be "advisable" to lift the economic sanctions imposed in 1962 and to hold a national dialogue that includes the Cuban community in exile. Calderon Berti said Fidel Castro's attendance at the first Iberomerican summit in Guadalajara, Mexico in 1991, and his scheduled attendance at the second summit, which is scheduled to take place in Madrid in July, are "important steps" in Cuba's reincorporation into the Latin American community.

Calderon Berti said that Colombian President Cesar Gaviria, Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, and Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez will have "an open agenda" for their scheduled G-3 meeting in Caracas. In addition to the Cuban case, which the group analyzed in October 1991 in a G-3 meeting in Mexico, the presidents will include economic integration among their countries on the aforementioned agenda. Venezuela and Colombia already took the first steps in that area in January when they agreed upon a commercial free zone.

Calderon Berti added that Venezuela "is satisfied and is on the lookout" regarding Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori's promise to convoke a Constituent Assembly in the next five months. Venezuela suspended relations with Peru and withdrew its ambassador from Lima after Fujimori established emergency measures that included the dissolution of the legislative and judicial branches on 5 April. Calderon Berti warned that the break in relations will continue until the results of the constituent elections are known, elections that for Venezuela are "the best poll" to show that Peruvians accept their president. However, Calderon added that the solution to the Peruvian crisis is the responsibility of the Peruvian people "without any interference and within the framework of the principle of nonintervention."

On Peru; Trade With Spain

PA2305161992 Caracas Venezolana de Television Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Foreign Minister Humberto Calderon Berti said on 22 May that Venezuela might renew its relations with Peru if President Alberto Fujimori fulfills his pledge to call for elections to elect a constituent assembly within five months. The foreign minister held a news conference at his office after attending the OAS Conference in Nassau, Bahamas. He emphasized the importance of this inter-American meeting.

Talking about his visit to Spain, the foreign minister emphasized that ties with this country are important, not only because of historical ties, but also because Spain is a full member of the EEC and this will allow Venezuela entry to the European market.

The foreign minister announced that two treaties will be approved by next week. One will be to protect and sponsor investments, both in Venezuela and Spain, and another will be to prevent the dual payment of taxes in the two countries.

[Begin Calderon recording] I think the possibilities for trade are great, financially speaking, with the opening of Venezuela's financial system to foreign investments. This will occur in a matter of months. Spain is quite interested in this. Referring to tourism, Spanish investments in Venezuela can be increased because Venezuela represents an important market for tourism investment and for Spanish tourists. I also consider the contacts we are sponsoring between the Spanish and Venezuelan oil sectors to be an important part of our international policy. There is a good possibility Venezuela will be able to be involved in the Spanish oil market. The market is quite large, almost 700,000 barrels per day. To date, Venezuela's participation has been minimal. There is a good possibility for a much greater participation. [end recording]

No Intervention in Haiti

PA2305152692 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2228 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Caracas, 22 May (NOTIMEX)—In a radical change of its position, Venezuela dismissed the possibility of future armed intervention to force a resolution to the Haitian crisis, which originated with the toppling of President Jean Bertrand Aristide.

During a news conference on 22 May, Venezuelan Foreign Minister Humberto Calderon Berti stated: "Venezuela is not proposing a military intervention in Haiti and would not participate in one." He also warned that the domestic situation in that country could result in "generalized violence."

After the September 1991 military coup in Haiti, Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez granted temporary assylum to his Haitian colleague Aristide and said he was willing to cooperate with a multinational military force to solve the conflict.

Defense Minister Fernando Ochoa had even admitted at the beginning of October in 1991 that Perez had ordered the Army to evaluate the staging of an "intervention" in Haiti with forces from OAS member countries.

However, Calderon Berti, who joined the government after the foiled coup d'etat in Venezuela in February, said he believed that the agreement to increase the economic embargo against Haiti would help reinstate democracy in this Antillean nation.

He stressed the fact that "European and U.S. firms" have violated the petroleum embargo against the military Haitian Government. The supply of petroleum to Haiti, which falls in the framework of the San Jose Agreement between Mexico and Venezuela, was suspended after the coup.

In regard to Haiti's domestic situation, Berti said "thousands of Haitians are escaping" and that the stay in the signing of the OAS-sponsored agreement by the Congress, the Armed Forces, and Aristide could lead to a climate of "generalized violence."

Student Protest Turns Violent in Los Teques

PA2505192592 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1837 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Caracas, 25 May (NOTIMEX)—At least three persons—two policemen and a passerby—were injured

on 25 May during a street protest in Los Teques, 25 km south of Caracas, where unidentified people damaged the governor's office.

The disturbances began when students protested the death of a retired soldier who was killed one week ago by a policeman, a spokesperson for Miranda State—of which Los Teques is the capital—reported. The spokesperson added that hooded protestors then threw rocks and bottles at the police.

The three injured persons were hurt by objects thrown by the demonstrators, while the police used tear gas to control the protest, the source added.

The protest began at 0800 and lasted till noon, when Miranda Governor Arnaldo Arocha ordered the National Guard to intervene.

Radio Rumbos reported that "several patrol cars were destroyed and homemade mortars were fired at the governor's office," but spokesperson Norma Garcia reported that only some windows at the governor's office had been broken by rocks and bottles.

Students peacefully marched from a school located 1 km from the governor's office. The protests turned violent as they approached the office. As a result of the clashes, stores were closed and transportation came to a halt, Garcia added.

Unidentified persons blocked streets with burning tires and garbage. A water cannon dispersed the demonstrators who were clashing with the police. According to Garcia, no more than 100 people were demonstrating.

Similar protests took place last week in Los Teques to protest the death of the soldier and demand an increase in public services.

Arocha said that on 26 May he will receive a delegation of students to analyze their demands, which include the dismissal of the police chief, so as to end the recurring protests in Los Teques, Garcia reported.

Ministry Denies Charges Against Army Officers

PA2405152392 Caracas Venezolana de Television Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 24 May 92

[Report by Cecilia Pachano]

[Text] The Venezuelan Defense Ministry has categorically denied a report published in a national newspaper. According to the report, three officers stole an arms cache from a Barcelona City barracks.

[Begin recording, Defense Ministry Spokesman Rear Admiral Jose Rafael Huizi] The report, published in the lower left corner of the front page of the 23 May 1992 edition of EL UNIVERSAL, framed and under the title: Three Lieutenants Stole a War Arms Cache from the Jose Maria Freites Barracks in Barcelona City, is completely false.

2. [as heard] It is not true that an arms cache has been stolen or lost from that barracks.

3. The alleged officers listed in the report are not registered as members of the Army or any other government organization.

4. It is regrettable that unconfirmed reports are being published with the excuse that reporters have no way to confirm their information at the Defense Ministry or at Army Headquarters, especially when the Armed Forces have created mechanisms to maintain permanent ties with the media.

5. The Defense Ministry hereby reiterates that it is very much disposed to clarify all reports having to do with the military before such reports are published, to avoid unnecessary alarm, and to affirm to the nation that the situation in the national Armed Forces is absolutely normal. [end recording]

Rear Adm. Huizi told journalists that he was surprised by the publication of this report, especially because no effort was made to confirm the information. The report includes serious mistakes, such as the name of the barracks, which was incorrect, and the names of the officers who are nonexistent.

[Begin Huizi recording] What is important in this case is to make it clear to the people that the situation in the Armed Forces is completely normal and to urge the people not to echo or spread these rumors.

When this type of information arises it is important to confirm the facts of the story at the Defense Ministry. [end recording]

Huizi said he regrets this type of reporting because it harms democracy.

Chamber of Deputies President Reports on Reforms

PA2405164192 Caracas Venezolana de Television Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 24 May 92

[Report by Cecilia Pachano]

[Text] Luis Enrique Oberto, president of the Chamber of Deputies, has told reporters that work has been completed on measures to approve constitutional reforms as soon as possible. The work began on 27 March.

Oberto said that the work by the subcommissions, especially those dealing with judicial reform, will be completed as soon as prominent people, organizations, and institutions are consulted. Plenary discussions of the bill are scheduled to begin on 25 May.

Oberto thinks that criticism of this work is based, apparently, on second-hand information.

[Begin Oberto recording] We cannot discuss reforms the people do not know about. Legislators cannot consult the people when the people are unable to give their opinions because no time has been dedicated to informing them.

Information should be provided to the people weeks before decisions are made. This is a fundamental and essential policy, so that the people may express their opinions and make known how they feel. [end recording]

Otero said the purpose of the consultations is to strengthen the reforms. He said that for this reason he finds it uncomprehensible why people working hard to reform the Constitution are being attacked.

Poll Indicates Drop in President's Popularity

PA2505173692 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1511 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Caracas, 25 May (NOTIMEX)—A poll published on 25 May reveals that 65 percent of Venezuelans believe President Carlos Andres Perez "is incapable of managing the country well," while 31 percent would support his resignation.

The poll, published by the newspaper EL NACIONAL—which opposes Perez—added that corruption, the abuse of power, and the high cost of living prompted the thwarted coup d'etat in February which, officially, left a total of 17 people dead.

In the opinion of the 31 percent who would support the Venezuelan president's resignation, (623) of the 2,000 polled, possible replacements include former President Rafael Caldera (1969-74), writer Arturo Uslar, or Hugo Chavez, leader of the February rebellion.

However, 63 percent of the people polled in March supported a democratic government and 26 percent a military regime, while 6 percent supported neither system, and 5 percent did not respond.

Regarding the prospects for Perez' government, which is scheduled to end in February 1994, 65 percent expressed "little or no confidence," while 32 percent expressed "a great deal, plenty, or some confidence." The remainder did not respond.

Perez' personal image represents "the worst of Venezuela" in the view of 26 percent of those polled, while 19 percent chose former president Jaime Lusinchi (1984-89), a social democrat like Perez.

These statistics contradict a recent statement by Perez, who admitted that his popularity had declined over the past few months but not to levels as low as "previous governments."

Meanwhile, Uslar was chosen as "the best" Venezuelan—with 29 precent in favor—followed by Caldera (18 percent), Perez (5 percent), and Chavez (4 percent).

"It would be difficult to predict a military coup through a poll, but a poll can indicate when a regime is threatened," said EL NACIONAL, citing "Datos," the firm that conducted the poll.

Thus, 77 percent of those polled believe the country's situation falls between "not very good and very bad," as opposed to 3 percent who believe it is "good or very good," and 20 percent who were undecided.

"Datos" pointed out the differences of opinion between the high income sector and the rest of the population, recalling that between 1989 and 1992 food prices increased by 320 percent, and the price of shares on the Caracas stock market increased by 1,000 percent.

The newspaper pointed out that pessimism over the country's future "was no worse" than that shown by a poll conducted by the same company at the end of 1991, less than two months prior to the thwarted coup.

At that time, 34 percent of the people displayed "a great deal, plenty, or some confidence" that within five years "the country will be prosperous," and the March poll showed that 41 percent maintained that same expectation.

* Army Sergeants Describe Promotions, Conditions

92SM0388A Caracas EL NACIONAL in Spanish Section D 20 Apr 92 p 14

[Article by Berenice Gomez Velasquez: "What Occurred Was a Sneeze Heralding the Coming Cold"]

[Text] This is the first interview the career sergeants have granted to the press. "If a new outbreak of violence were to occur, our rifles would not be aimed at the people. We will not massacre them, as happened on the 27th, because, as the Liberator said in one of his sensational insights, 'Cursed be the soldier who aims at his people.' They can continue to imprison us at the DIM [Military Intelligence Directorate]; they can discharge us. Whatever the case, we will continue to be Bolivarians because it is possible to imprison men, but not their ideas.

"Approximately 230 career Army sergeants have been discharged. These dismissals have not always been just. There are some comrades who really did participate in these events, while there are others who are Bolivarians, but did not participate. Still others were booted out on the basis of mere suspicion," the spokesman for the career sergeants said, speaking on his own behalf and for his comrades in arms.

In accordance with his request and with our legal obligation, the identities of this spokesman for the Bolivarian sergeants and his companions will not be revealed. We can report that they are professional soldiers with more than eight years of Army service and that they have received demanding and varied training for special operations.

We were speaking with a calm man, very certain of his responses, his ideas, and his opinions. His speech revealed one aspect with which the public has not been familiar—the views of the members of this segment of the military. Their participation in the events of 4 February (4F) was a known fact, but they had never before made a statement for public dissemination. The impression was that they were acting on the basis of

orders from their superiors, that they were operating within the Bolivarian Movement, and that they were in constant contact with the Commanders of the 4F Uprising.

This individual told us that there are some 2,700 career sergeants in the country. The average age is 28. They rose from the troops, from the ranks, from the group known as conscripts. "We are the umbilical cord linking the officers and the soldiers. We are like the mother hen to her chicks. It is public knowledge that the soldiers respect and obey us."

Dishonorably Discharged

"Because of the events of 4 February, 230 of us were discharged. But these were dishonorable discharges, or in other words, we were kicked out. Thus we cannot work in the DISIP [Directorate of Intelligence and Prevention Services], in the PTJ [Judicial Technical Police], in the police, or in any state security body. Other sergeants were dismissed by the president of the Republic. Although it is true that they can no longer be tried in connection with these events, they will in any case be certain to feel and suffer persecution by the intelligence apparatus. Other sergeants are 'out on bail,' as ordered by Colonel Ramon Moreno Natera, the judge of the Second Military Court. Other comrades of ours were 'expelled for disciplinary reasons,' which is another means available to the Army for booting people out, for expelling them, where the Investigation Council stands in the way," this sergeant said.

"We take offense at the fact that while the officers who participated in the 4 February uprising are enjoying their wages, benefits, the IPSFAN [National Armed Forces Social Security Institute], and all the rest, the sergeants are out on the street. Those who were discharged or kicked out or expelled have no rights to anything, and they are being paid off, as if they were hired on contract. This is being done without computation of the time served in the FAN [National Armed Forces], making illegal use of a regulation that was curtailed and amended in 1987. It is hard to believe, but those with the longest service received much smaller 'settlements' than those with shorter service time," the sergeant added.

He said that there are sergeants who served more than 10 years in the FAN and received "settlements," or payments, of 40,000 bolivares each, while others who had only four months of service were paid up to 400,000 bolivares each as compensation for the time remaining in their contracts.

"The family members of these comrades are now deprived of the right to use the services of the Military Hospital, the FAN Club, and the IPSFAN. They have been left without insurance, without any rights as military personnel. These comrades and their families have been persecuted by the DIM," he went on to say.

Requests for Discharge

"There is great discontent among the professional soldiers. The proof is that 120 of us have requested discharge. We know that there have been many requests for discharge from both noncommissioned and commissioned officers. It is a known fact that the officers are not being granted their discharges on the orders of the minister of defense. But I am speaking to you about what I know, about the situation of the Army sergeants," he added.

He explained that on the day the commanders of the San Carlos Barracks were transferred to Valles del Tuy, the president of the Republic dismissed the suit filed by seven Army sergeants, and all of them were discharged.

"Dismissal represents a presidential pardon. Those who merit and receive it are exonerated from any blame. They must be reinstated in their posts and on the promotion list. It is as if their careers had been suspended and then reestablished again, thanks to this magnanimous gesture. But what happened with these seven career sergeants was that they left the fort very early, and when they arrived at the command headquarters, they were given a letter indicating that they were being booted out, and that was all."

According to our source, they were kicked out because the higher officers were aware of the profound and solid links between the sergeants and the troops, between the officers and the sergeants.

"They know that we have control over the troops. We are specialists. The Army devoted great effort to making us professional soldiers. Some of us are university professors, lawyers, engineers, and even journalists.... We came up from the ranks. We took courses and then more courses, and those who did not study were left behind."

The July Promotions

"We have been watching the phenomenon of the July military promotions. It is clear that the 4F events changed the entire picture. Some individuals who were promoted remained in their positions due to a lack of understanding of what had happened, while in others were held back because they had participated. The majors who were promoted to command positions will be the subjects of constant investigation to determine whether they had anything to do with these events, directly or indirectly. It must not be forgotten that the lieutenants, captains, majors, and lieutenant colonels are the commanders of the troops. It is they who command the soldiers. At present, none of the commanders remains with a battalion very long. They are constantly being transferred due to fear," the sergeant said.

He told this journalist that "someone in this country should question why they are persecuting us. There seems to be a continuing belief that two divisions, one of paratroopers and the other of infantry troops, were mobilized in the Department of Guajira in Colombia."

He warned that with the attempted coup on 4 February, the defense capacity of the country was altered, because the elite Army groups—the BOE [expansion not given] and the parachute and light infantry troops—suffered losses.

"More than 3,000 men were discharged, those in the parachute battalions among them. They were replaced by soldiers in the light infantry, who make dubious paratroopers. The most able of all of these groups are the career sergeants, trained under command and assigned to the BOE, which is now called the Special Operations Unit (UOE). Because of the participation of eight of these individuals as guerrillas under the orders of Commander Chavez, the dismissals, and all the rest, the number of these experts has also declined," he said.

He added that these UOE commando units are being trained at the Mariano Montilla Barracks, a part of the Professional Army Troop School located in La Victoria, in the State of Aragua.

Broken Promises

"We are members of the Bolivarian Movement, and we will continue to be. What is happening now is that we are being forced to abandon our low profile. Through this medium, we want to state that we are not now nor will we be communists, nor anything extreme. Our movement has nothing to do with Red Flag, We Shall Win, Zero Point, or the Americo Silva Front. We denounce the fact that there is a training center in Araira, in the State of Miranda, where Red Flag is training urban guerrilla fighters. We wonder why the Army is not being sent to eliminate these guerrillas instead of persecuting us. We are not willing for these individuals to approach us in order to fish in troubled waters. The Army has already defeated them in the guerrilla war," this sergeant said.

He believes that the situation continues to be a delicate one. "Particularly since we sergeants continue to feel deceived by our superior officers.

"Some days after the uprising, a month and a half ago, we sergeants were invited to attend an Army General Staff meeting at the Sol de Carabobo Hall. The commander in chief set forth his ideas about the events of 4 February, and at the end we were allowed to question him. There was a long list of broken promises mentioned there, including the establishment of a recreation bonus; the building of housing at the garrison in Fort Tiuna; recognition and adjustment for service time on a regulated basis, rather than as a favor; recreation plans for our families; and an economic aid plan—none of these promises have been kept.

"The need to provide the sergeants with regulation weapons was voiced, because it is dangerous to go into the streets wearing a uniform but unarmed. As everyone knows, the people in the neighborhoods in which we live have been attacking us since the events of 27 February. All we have managed to do is to ask the CAVIM [Venezuelan Military Industries, Inc.] to sell us weapons."

A Manifesto

Finally, the sergeants presented us with what they call their manifesto.

"We Bolivarians, especially those of us who are career soldiers, are neither leftist nor rightist. Our goal is a national one. We have no political affiliation whatsoever. Our intention on 4F was not to impose a dictatorship, but to change the so-called democratic system, which has been suffering distortion for about 20 years and which is snuffing out to our sovereignty, our economy, our society...and even our Bolivarian history, forged by men such as the Liberator, Simon Rodriguez, Ribas, Vargas, and the others who fought to liberate us so that our people could enjoy true democracy. What is happening now is that it is the members of the party and tribal elite groups who are enjoying democracy and benefiting from it in every respect. What we sought to do was to call upon the country to reflect. Now we appeal to the soldiers to note the lack of any plans for change in the system. We accuse the Ministry of Domestic Affairs of adopting the same attitude toward the families of the 4 February soldiers as was evidenced by Pedro Estrada during the dictatorship disguised as a democracy. Carlos Andres Perez gives milk to the people for their children and then replaces it with bullets."

And in conclusion, the manifesto says that "what happened on 4 February was only a sneeze heralding the coming cold."